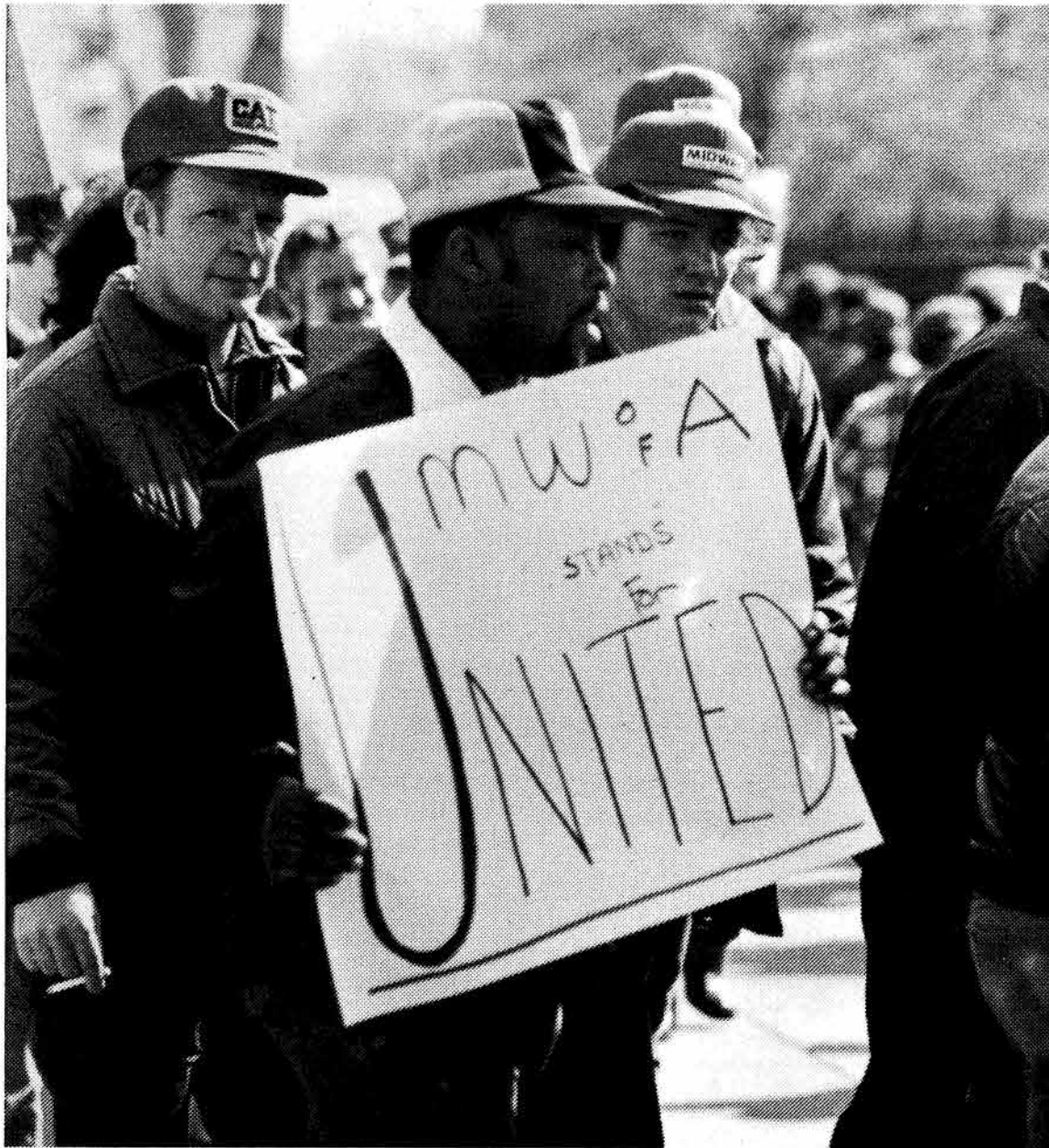


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Miners tell Reagan: Take your budget and shove it!



Two-day walkout spurs March 28 Harrisburg action

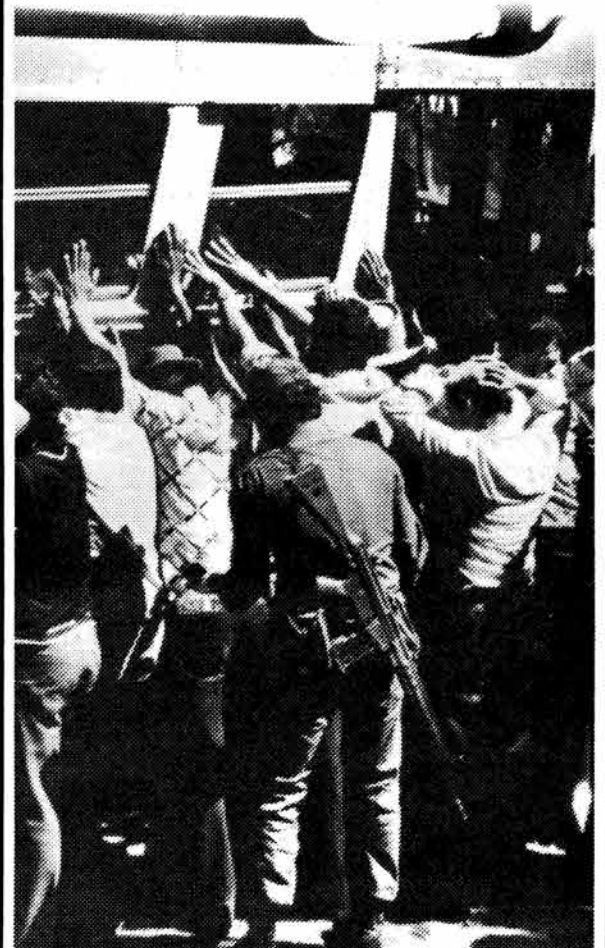
—PAGE 3

**FBI
lists
'crimes'
committed
by
socialists**

—PAGE 19

**Salvador
unionists
urge labor:
stop U.S. aid
to junta**

—PAGE 9



U.S. military aid pays for stop-and-search raids like this one on Salvadoran workers.

No intervention in El Salvador!

In a March 3 interview with Walter Cronkite, Reagan tried to undercut mounting sentiment against military intervention in El Salvador's civil war. But the flow of U.S. arms to the Salvadoran junta continues, and the number of U.S. military "advisors" increases.

Asked if he was "pledging" not to send in troops, Reagan told Cronkite he didn't "see any likelihood of us going in." His deliberate ambiguity was reflected in a *New York Times* headline which said Reagan was "doubtful" about the use of combat forces.

Of course, Reagan could not rule it out. He knows that, as in Vietnam, each new shipment of weapons, each new group of "advisors," brings the involvement of U.S. troops that much closer.

To justify U.S. intervention, Reagan offered the brazen lie that the people of El Salvador "have evidenced their desire" to preserve the present government.

If the junta had any popular support, the guerrillas would have been defeated long ago. It's quite a "popular" regime that survives by wholesale jailings, torture, and murder.

Like the dictatorships that preceded it, the regime in El Salvador represents a tiny clique of landlords and businessmen, plus their imperialist uncle to the north. The system which the junta defends has brought the people nothing but misery and terror. It's opposed by unions, churches, peasant organizations and a range of political parties, most of which have come together in the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

This reality was admitted by James Cheek, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. In its March 4 issue, *New York's* weekly *Village Voice* quoted him as declaring: "We have never maintained that this government has broad-based popular support. . . . It is not looking for popular support."

And Washington has no objection to the dictatorial nature of the Salvadoran regime.

The most recent confirmation of this was the disclosure that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is not only shipping refugees back, but providing the junta with their identities.

This despite the fact that returnees have been murdered on arrival at the San Salvador airport.

In the interview Reagan repeated his red-baiting thesis that communists—because they don't believe in God—are immoral and tell lies.

This from the man who programs a dictatorship that murders priests and nuns.

But Reagan's concern is not simply to save the Salvadoran junta. "Our problem," he told Cronkite, "is this whole hemisphere. . . ."

That concern—not purported arms shipments—prompts the threats of military blockades, and more, against Cuba and Nicaragua. It bares Washington's true aim—to make this hemisphere "safe" for capitalism, for continuing colonial exploitation. Yet it is precisely the imperialist system that has brought poverty and suffering to so many.

That's why the Cuban people rose up in 1959. That's why in the past two years we have seen victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada. And that's why the Salvadoran people fight so heroically.

Solidarity with the Salvadoran people is vital. Should tax dollars be taken from education, job training, and Medicaid in order to kill them, as Reagan is doing? Should American youth die fighting them?

Self-interest, as well as solidarity, demands maximum opposition to Reagan's aggression.

Much has been done to spark such a movement by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). This movement has already won encouraging support from labor, church and community forces. CISPES has set March 24, April 18, and May 9 as days of action around the theme "No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!"

Make your voice heard on these days.

Two years of a big revolution

Two years ago this week, a big revolution began on the little Caribbean island of Grenada. Grenada is an English-speaking country with a predominantly Black population of 110,000.

On March 13, 1979, the working people, under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement, overthrew the dictatorship of Eric Gairy. A workers and farmers government, led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, was established.

A grim situation faced the new government. Two hundred years of colonial and neocolonial rule had left an unemployment rate of 57 percent. Education was so neglected that only one public high school had been built in the last hundred years. Health was deteriorating.

And world capitalism, which dominated and warped Grenada's economy, was being racked by stagnation and inflation.

With incalculably fewer resources, the Bishop government offered a far different answer to the economic crisis than the U.S. government under Carter and Reagan.

Here we are told that the wealthy United States must cut back on medical care, education, jobs programs, and unemployment compensation.

Meanwhile, the Grenadian government has greatly increased spending on education, health, and jobs. The tax burden has been shifted onto the shoulders of the rich who can afford it.

The first phase of a crash campaign against illiteracy has been completed. A second phase is under way. A new high school is being built, and free medical care has been established at government clinics.

Idle lands are being put into cultivation by the government, providing jobs for many previously unemployed workers.

In contrast to the United States, unemployment in Grenada is declining.

The biggest problem facing the revolution is the U.S. government's hostility. Instead of welcoming the first truly popular government in the Black English-speaking Caribbean, the U.S. government is doing all it can to destabilize that government.

Washington refused repeated requests by the Grenadian government to extradite the criminal Gairy, who is trying to recruit mercenaries here for a "Bay of Pigs"-type invasion.

Life is still hard in Grenada. The legacy of two hundred years of colonialism and neocolonialism cannot be overcome in two years.

But working people there are moving forward. We salute the workers and peasants of Grenada for demonstrating in action what the working class can do when we have our own government.

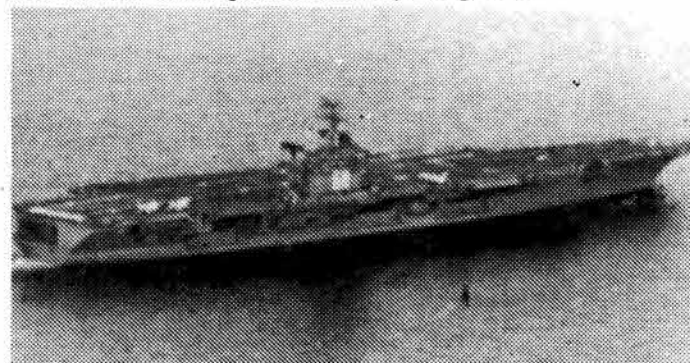
As the Grenadian workers and farmers say, "Forward Ever, Backward Never!"

Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Doctor on black lung
- 5 Phila. transport workers wear green
- 6 Atlanta political rights rally
- 7 Racist on trial in Salt Lake
- 8 U.S. isolated on El Salvador
- 9 Salvador unionists speak out
- 10 Grenada: revolutionary island
- 11 Forum on Malcolm X
- 12 Dobbs to testify at trial
- 14 Miners answer company lies
- 16 Pentagon liars & their figures
- 18 Women in labor history
- 24 Max Engel: lifelong rebel
- 10 Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean
- 12 As I See It
- 13 Socialist \$75,000 Fund
- 25 Women in Revolt Union Talk
- 26 Great Society American Way of Life What's Going On
- 27 Letters If You Like This Paper . . .

Pentagon liars can figure

Is it true that the Soviet Union has a military lead over the United States? Will Reissner looks at the Pentagon's arithmetic and things don't add up. **Page 16.**



The Militant

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UMWA black lung protest not a bluff

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH—President Reagan proposed in his budget speech to Congress February 18 that black lung benefits to miners be cut.

The next day the president of the United Mine Workers of America, Sam Church, and other officers and staff from the union's Washington headquarters picketed the White House in protest.

Church issued a long press statement explaining the truth about black lung benefits and what it would mean to cut them.

He explained how, far from abusing the black lung program, victims average only \$300 a month in benefits.

It is so difficult to meet the eligibility requirements that it takes years to be certified. He reported on the common case of miners not being certified for black lung benefits until after their deaths—with their widows receiving some money.

Church explained that 4,000 miners a year die from black lung, that 70 percent of retired miners show black lung symptoms and cannot enjoy a healthy retirement.

He charged that the "insensitivity of the government and the operators in this regard has been shameful."

The first sentence in Sam Church's statement was, "If there is any attempt to gut the essential and hard-won black lung program by Mr. Reagan and his administration, I will ask every coal miner in this country, union and non-union alike, to lay down their tools and leave the mines."

Not a bluff

The day after the picket the Charleston, West Virginia, *Daily Mail* ran a lead editorial titled "Mr. Church's Threat." This pro-company newspaper



in the heart of the coalfields supported Reagan's cutbacks against the miners. The editors said that strikes drive off coal customers and lead to miners being laid off. And this mouthpiece of the operators said the United Mine Workers' strike call "is a bluff."

Let's hope the *Daily Mail* can spare some reporters to check out the mines March 9 and 10 and maybe even send a reporter to Washington.

The miners aren't bluffing.

Friday, February 27, Sam Church announced at a Washington news conference that there would be a two-day work stoppage by UMWA miners throughout the country and that the international union and districts would share the cost of buses to bring miners to Washington on March 9 to protest at the gates of the White House to defend black lung benefits. The

UMWA invited all coal miners, union and non-union, and labor and government officials "who support our cause to join us."

"We're just not going to take it," miners throughout the country have said.

A two-day strike is technically a "memorial" that the union has the right to call under the contract. It is not a wildcat strike. But no union coal will be mined in the United States March 9 and 10.

Harrisburg, March 28

The demonstration planned for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28 by the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment is sponsored, supported, and being actively built by the mine workers.

This action, to be held near the site

of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant on the second anniversary of the near-meltdown, is not just in opposition to nuclear power. It is also to support the UMWA, whose national contract expires March 27.

UMWA districts and locals throughout the country are distributing literature, signing up the miners to go to Harrisburg on buses, participating in meetings where anti-nuclear-power speakers are explaining the issues, and contributing money and effort to the project.

UMWA leadership for this national demonstration is as unprecedented in the recent history of the American labor movement as the strike and rally in Washington March 9.

The combination of these efforts have put the miners in a strong position against both the operators and the government concerning their own contract. They have already won unprecedented support and solidarity leading up to their contract fight.

Everyone struggling against government cutbacks, for women's rights, against racist attacks, against the draft, in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador has a stake in the miners' fight.

This is the beginning of a show of force for our side, the workers.

The capitalists have literally been getting away with murder.

When the miners organize to fight back, the bosses reassure themselves by saying it's a bluff.

They're wrong.

It's no bluff.

March 9 is not the end of the struggle. It's a beginning.

March 28 in Harrisburg will mark another important step in the fight-back.

Show the bosses who is bluffing.

Miners, steelworkers—building for March 28

By Suzanne Haig

Building for the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania—called to oppose the reopening of Three Mile Island, in support of the miners, and for jobs—is spreading across the country.

Especially significant is the response from the United Mine Workers of America, one of the sponsors.

The Pennsylvania UMWA Political Action Committee (COMPAC) is printing a leaflet which will be distributed to every Pennsylvania miner. Leaflets will also be given to every miner going to Washington, D.C., on March 9 to protest Reagan's proposed cuts of black lung benefits.

The miners also will receive leaflets on the upcoming speaking engagements of Jane Lee, a farmer who lives three miles from Three Mile Island. Lee is speaking in Pittsburgh Friday, March 13, along with Joe Jurczak, staff coordinator for Pennsylvania COMPAC, and representatives from the National Organization for Women, antinuclear groups, and a United Steel-

workers activist working on the radioactive scrap issue.

Lee will also be speaking at meetings in West Virginia and southern Illinois to build for March 28.

The miners have sign-up sheets for March 28 in lamphouses and bathhouses in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, southern Illinois, and elsewhere in the coalfields.

Buses have been chartered by UMWA locals and districts from as far away as southern Illinois to go to March 28.

The Washington office of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment reports getting letters every day from UMWA locals supporting March 28, enclosing contributions, and saying that they know the international is backing the march and they also want to help.

In Boston a planning meeting was held February 28 to hear a proposal for a regional conference May 16 on Safe Energy and Full Employment and to begin building for March 28.

Fifty to sixty people, representing

seventeen different unions, attended the meeting, which was sponsored by District 38 of the International Association of Machinists; Paul Grace, regional organizer for the International Typographical Workers Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 470; United Electrical Workers (UE) District Council 2; and others.

After an enthusiastic discussion, the meeting decided to go all out to build both the conference and March 28.

For bus information to March 28, contact: Mobilization for Survival, 13 Sellers Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, or call (617) 354-1204.

In Gary, Indiana, United Steelworkers locals 1010 and 6787 have endorsed and are planning to send members to March 28.

In New York City, District Council 37 of AFSCME voted to send five buses and donate the use of their office to build for March 28. For information call (212) 766-1557.

Ed Gray, director of Region 9, United Auto Workers, has offered a bus for

auto workers to go to the demonstration.

New endorsers include the national board of the National Organization for Women, USWA Local 1219 at the Edgar Thompson Works, U.S. Steel Corporation, in Braddock, outside Pittsburgh; United Electrical Workers District 6; and UE Local 610 in Pennsylvania.

A number of unions are building an April 11 Southern California Conference on Safe Energy and Full Employment to be held at the United Teachers of Los Angeles union hall. It will include a panel discussion, workshop sessions, floor discussion, and an evening rally.

The 150,000-member California Conference of Machinists and the Southern California region of the American Federation of Teachers have endorsed April 11.

For more information on April 11, contact Service Employees International Union Local 535 (Attn: Elizabeth Reed), 3092 North Park Way, San Diego, California 92104. Telephone: (714) 283-8819.

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The United Mine Workers union is sometimes called the granddaddy of American unions. Today the miners are leading the fight against Reagan and the bosses.

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What is black lung?

By Stu Singer

Dr. Lorin Kerr described black lung to the 1968 UMWA convention. "At work you are covered with dust. It's in your hair, your clothes, and your skin. The rims of your eyes are coated with it. It gets between your teeth, and you swallow it. You suck so much of it in your lungs that, until you die, you never stop spitting up coal dust."

"Some of you cough so hard that you wonder if you have a lung left. Slowly you notice you are getting short of breath when you walk up a hill. On the job, you stop more often to catch your breath. Finally, just walking across the room at home is an effort because it makes you so short of breath."

Reagan and the coal operators say the black lung program is abused by miners. The fact is that hundreds of thousands of miners and their families are abused by the operators, the government, and the continuing scourge of black lung.

According to U.S. government figures, from January 1, 1970, when the black lung program went into effect, to December 31, 1977, claims were filed by 710,600 people.

After drawn-out testing procedures, typical red tape, company challenges, expensive trips to out-of-town clinics, and other unfair burdens, 420,944 of those claims were approved. In other words, 40 percent of the claims were rejected.

The companies challenged virtually every single claim made for black lung benefits. The victims and their survivors who did receive benefits were paid \$5.568 billion over those eight years. Al-

most all of that money came from the government. Only \$1.5 million came from the coal companies.

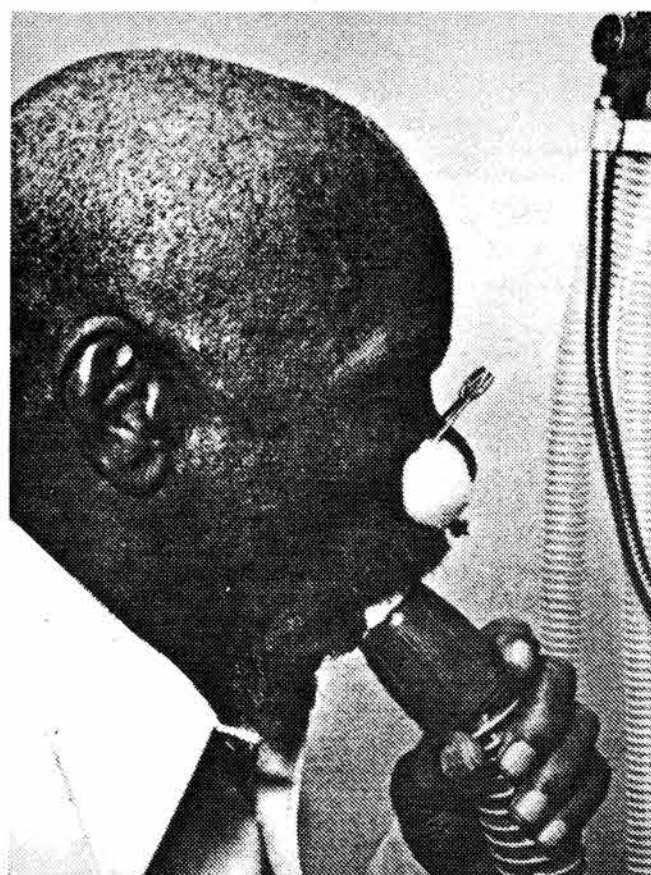
What Reagan and the operators want to do is reject far more claims. But more miners suffer from black lung than even the number who file.

A 1977 study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health hinted at the real health effect of breathing the dust of underground mines. For example, in 1975, of an estimated 139,500 underground miners, 18,100 would suffer from coal workers' pneumoconiosis, 41,800 from chronic bronchitis, 11,200 from severe dyspnea (shortness of breath), and 41,800 from cases of lung airways obstructions.

These figures are not mutually exclusive. Many victims suffer from more than one of the symptoms of black lung.

For all its weaknesses, the 1969 law establishing a benefits program for black lung victims and imposing dust restrictions on the operators represented a major victory for American workers. It took a powerful revolt of miners, along with strikes, demonstrations, and the ousting of their pro-company union leaders to win the law and enforce it.

It is a model for legislation to deal with the many other occupational health threats which cripple workers throughout U.S. industry. The Vietnam veterans who suffer from the horrible effects of Agent Orange defoliant. The textile workers dying from brown lung. The coke oven workers in the steel industry who are daily exposed to cancer-causing chemicals. Asbestos workers and those in the chemical and oil-refin-



Retired miner Clovis Casey undergoing check of lung capacity in a black lung test at Jackson Clinic in Jasper, Alabama.

American Coal Miner

ing industries. And the farmworkers and cannery and packing workers who suffer from the effects of pesticide sprays.

These millions of working people have a gigantic and immediate stake in the coal miners' fight to keep and extend their black lung benefits.

So far the black lung program is the only one of its kind. Many other diseases that are medically proven to be caused by occupational hazards are not recog-

nized by employers, courts, or the government; and no compensation is provided for the victims. There are struggles going on around every one of them.

The coal miners are literally fighting for the lives of millions of workers. The bosses and their government have made their position clear: profits before human life.

Workers put human life first.

Working people can show where they stand by going to Washington March 9.

'Join us in Harrisburg in fight for safe energy'

By Paul Mailhot

HARRISBURG, Pa.—At the same time that Metropolitan Edison Company is pushing for higher utility rates, to reopen one of its Three Mile Island nuclear reactors, and to dump 700,000 gallons of radioactive water into the Susquehanna River, trade union leaders, antinuclear groups, community residents, and students are gearing up for a big antinuclear action here on March 28.

The demonstration commemorating the second anniversary of the TMI accident will assemble on City Island in Harrisburg on March 28 at 11:00 a.m. and march to the Capitol.

The action was originally called by eight international unions and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. In the past week the National Education Association has voted its enthusiastic backing for the demonstration.

A clear statement

At a February 23 press conference, Jane Perkins, secretary-treasurer of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union and coordinator of the Greater Harrisburg Area Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, explained that the labor movement was mobilizing to march to make a "clear statement to Met-Ed and the government regulatory agencies to keep Three Mile Island shut down."

Joe Jurczak, Director of the Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, said, "We are calling on the people of the Greater Harrisburg area and people from all over the country to come to Harrisburg on March 28. We expect workers from every industry to pour into Harrisburg. We will be joined by thousands of others who want safe energy."

Jurczak also reported that the UMWA was putting three full-time organizers on the road to visit locals to help get out the membership for the march.

Along with the demands to keep TMI shut down and stop the dumping of radioactive water into the Susquehanna, the action will also be supporting the Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract. The present UMWA contract with the coal operators expires the day before the march.

Labor's social responsibility

George Robinson, Director of Occupational Safety and Health and Community Services for the International Association of Machinists, explained at the press conference that "labor has a social responsibility to fight for safe energy."

"President Reagan has said that government won't be responsible for social change. Labor must be responsible for social change, and nuclear power is a question of change," he said.

"Repeatedly, labor is paying the price for nuclear power. It is the workers who bear the burden of higher electric bills, increased tax subsidies, and risks to their health and family security."

The news conference attracted seven television stations, numerous radio stations, and newspaper reporters. News of the March 28 action was a top story in the Harrisburg area and received coverage throughout the state.

Building in Harrisburg

Union activists in the Harrisburg area are busy speaking before union meetings and committees to which they have been invited here to get out the word on the March 28 action.

A meeting of District 98 of the IAM, at which more than seventy officers of locals throughout the state were present, heard a report on the demonstration. Afterwards many of the local presidents took materials to publicize the march.

Union members and officials working for the Greater Harrisburg Area Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment have spoken before

Socialist miner: 'proud UMWA in forefront against Reagan'

The following is a statement by DeAnn Rathbun, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1190 at Bethlehem Steel's Ellsworth Mine. Rathbun is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh.

In calling a two-day walkout against Reagan's proposed cut in black lung benefits, my union has taken a big step that aids all victims of the new White House budget—from those who will lose food stamps, to the children denied school lunches, to the jobless workers threatened with no more unemployment compensation.

I'm proud that the mine workers are also in the forefront of the March 28 national demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a march that will demand no Three Mile Islands, support to the miners, and jobs for all.

It took massive strikes and dem-

onstrations for us to win black lung benefits in the first place. The same kind of action is called for today to defend these and other rights.

Miners are up against a tough contract battle this month. Just like Carter the Democrat, Reagan the Republican is backing the coal bosses all the way.

The bipartisan assault on miners and the rest of labor points up the need to match independent action in the streets, like on March 9 and March 28, with an equally independent course in politics. The union movement needs to form a labor party.

Such a party would fight to extend black lung benefits, not cut them; it would campaign to arrest the killers of Black children in Atlanta, not protect them; it would fight for more schools, hospitals, and housing, and favor *not one cent* for the warmakers in Washington.

several local meetings of the United Furniture Workers of America. More than half a dozen Furniture Workers locals have made contributions to the march after hearing speakers from the Labor Committee.

Steelworkers locals 1608 and 2378 also invited speakers from the Labor Committee to come to their meetings and took materials to help publicize the march.

IAM Local 2197 at the American Can Company in Harrisburg also voted to endorse the march after a report on it was given to the local meeting. The local also decided to feature an advertisement for the march on the front page of their newspaper. IAM Local 928 at Armstrong Cork has also endorsed.

Leaders of the Labor Committee have spoken before the executive board of Chocolate Workers Local 464, which

represents workers at the Hershey Chocolate plant near here. Speakers from the Labor Committee have also reported on the march to the Lebanon and Lehigh Valley Central Labor Councils.

The broad union support for the action has given the entire movement against nuclear power here a big boost. Local residents and antinuclear groups who have been fighting Met-Ed since the accident on March 28, 1979, are pitching in to help build the action. Regular Monday night meetings to organize for the demonstration have been attracting forty to fifty people.

For more information on the Harrisburg demonstration contact: Greater Harrisburg Area Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1037 Maclay Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17103. Telephone: (717) 232-0396.

Students call nat'l rally for Atlanta March 15

By Garrett Brown

ATLANTA—At a March 1 rally here, student leaders urged massive participation in the national march against the murders of nineteen Black children called for March 15 in Atlanta.

The rally of 150 people was sponsored by the Association of Christian Student Leaders (ACSL), which initiated the "Moratorium on Murder" campaign here.

"When our backs are against the wall, we have to take the first step forward. Today we took that first step

forward and we appeal for thousands to come to Atlanta March 15," declared Bernard LaFayette, founder of the National Black Christian Student Leadership Consultation (NBCSL).

"We have sent out a national call," said Ken Flowers, a Morehouse College student and an ACSL leader, "because it is a national problem."

"It is no mere accident that Black men have been slaughtered in Buffalo. It is no accident that four Black women were shot in Chattanooga. It is no accident that two Black men were shot dead while jogging in Salt Lake

City. And it is no accident that a Black man has been charged with murder in Decatur, Georgia, for defending himself and his family from an attack by the Ku Klux Klan.

"It is no accident that these things have happened, and the child killings in Atlanta are tied hand in hand with them," Flowers pointed out.

"Now is the time to keep on marching until the day when we can end the killing of our children," he added.

David Smith, national president of ACSL, said "Atlanta used to be known

as the Mecca of the South; now it is a city under siege.

"We are living in an atmosphere of fear because once a month for the last nineteen months a young Black child has been smashed."

Participating in the three-mile march to the Martin Luther King Jr. Chapel at Morehouse College were students from five Atlanta area universities, a five-member delegation of the National Black Independent Political Party from Birmingham, representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from Baltimore, and students from Florida and Louisiana.

The demonstrators marched single file "to symbolize how the children went to their deaths—one by one." Signs were carried reading "Stop terrorism—save our youth"; "We want speedy justice"; and "Stop the murders—break the chains of fear."

At the rally in front of the chapel, Flowers also asked Atlantans to participate in the green ribbon and armband campaign in solidarity with victims of the racist killings.

Following the rally, a vesper service was held at the chapel to commemorate the slain children. Relatives of eighteen of the twenty-one victims were present.

Further information on the March 15 march is available from the ACSL through the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change, telephone (404) 524-1956.

Socialist backs protests, condemns cops

ATLANTA—André Kahlmorgen, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, participated in the March 1 rally here. In a statement issued at the scene, she "wholeheartedly welcomed" the call for a national march in Atlanta and local demonstrations throughout the country.

"These mobilizations of the Black community and all opponents of racist violence," the statement said, "are needed to pressure the federal, state, and city governments to end the murders and bring the killers to justice."

"These marches, combined with the on-going weekend searches,

expanded neighborhood street patrols, and regular community organizing meetings, can, as Coretta Scott King said, 'break the fear and despair which has gripped our community.'"

"The racist killers feel emboldened by government assaults on the gains of the civil rights movement. They must be put on notice that millions will not sit idly by while murders continue here, and in Buffalo, Miami, Greensboro, and elsewhere."

Kahlmorgen charged the government with trying to place blame on the victims, their parents, or the

Black community while refusing to produce a single suspect.

"The special children's task force has refused to track logical suspects—known killers of Black people such as the KKK and killer-cops. They have also failed to organize any meaningful protection of Black youths."

"The federal government must immediately fund the measures needed by Black parents and children, like twenty-four-hour child-care centers and recreation facilities, and fund the efforts of the Black community to defend itself through neighborhood street patrols and organizing meetings."

Transit workers spur ribbon drive

By Steve Eckardt

PHILADELPHIA—One thousand members of the Transport Workers Union Local 234, many wearing green ribbons, began their contract meeting here March 1 with a minute of silence for the slain Black children in Atlanta. The meeting heard a report on Atlanta and a press release was read expressing solidarity with the Black community there.

The Transport Workers' contract expires March 14.

The anger and solidarity expressed by the wearing of green ribbons has spread over this city. The overwhelming majority of the Black community and thousands of others are wearing the ribbons.

A resolution was passed in the Ca-

tholic diocese calling on people to wear green ribbons. Many teachers in the parochial schools are passing them out to their students.

The city council passed a resolution to be sent to every state and major city in the United States, urging people to wear green.

The massive wearing of green ribbons is the most dramatic manifestation of solidarity, but it's not the only one. The twice-weekly Black paper, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, has been donating space and lending editorial support to raise funds for the Atlanta-based Committee to Stop Children's Murders.

Weekly vigils at the Liberty Bell were started February 15 by the newly formed African American Mothers organization. "We've decided that we

have to put up or shut up," one organizer told the *Tribune*. "If we don't make a move for the children of Atlanta, what can we do or say for our own children?"

On February 21 the Friends of the Prisoners Foundation held a meeting of more than 150 for the Atlanta mother Camille Bell, whose son Yusef was the fourth child murdered in the string of racist slayings.

The growing sentiment in Philadelphia was best epitomized by the remarks at this meeting by Arthur Langford from the United Youth-Adult Conference in Atlanta. "It's time for us to come together and organize," he said. "This may be the final call. If we will not organize around the deaths of small, innocent children, then we will not organize for anything."

Union blasts ban on green

Transport Workers Union Local 234 in Philadelphia issued the following press release February 27.

SEPTA [Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority] today threatened to fire or otherwise discipline any driver caught wearing a green ribbon while operating a bus or trolley. The order was given by District Manager Daniel McCormack to depot superintendents and in at least two cases directly to operators.

The green ribbon is being worn by members of Local 234 as part of a national campaign to call attention to the murder of twenty Black children in Atlanta.

According to McCormack, the green ribbon violates the Authority's uniform code. "Would we let an operator wear a button from some cause in Timbuktoo?" he asked. When it was suggested that it was insulting to compare the murders in Atlanta to Timbuktoo, he responded that "operators can do anything they want on their own time but on the bus/trolley they do what we say."

Local 234 President Dom DiClerico said, "The order comes as no surprise. It's typical of SEPTA's insensitivity to human needs and feelings—whether it's the outrage at the murders in Atlanta or the rapes and attacks on SEPTA riders and operators in this city. This is the kind of stupid harassment we've had to put up with ever since Gunn [the general manager of SEPTA] and his crowd rode in from Boston. They should stop wasting time attacking the employees and start putting service and safe equipment on the street."

DiClerico also noted that the two operators directly ordered to remove the green ribbons seemed to bug McCormack by showing their concern.

Last week the Philadelphia City Council adopted a resolution asking all Americans to wear the green ribbon.

The woman who started it all...

PHILADELPHIA—Georgia Dean is a sixty-seven-year-old grandmother. Her decision to "try and do something in a little, tiny, small way" for the children in Atlanta has sparked an outpouring of solidarity across the country.

Mrs. Dean felt that the authorities in Atlanta weren't doing enough to investigate the murders. "I was trying to put a little pressure on them," she told the *Militant*. "Maybe they would go a little faster and try to do more if they found out the pressure was on them from all over the cities." So she called the media and started a campaign, asking people to wear green ribbons for the children.

Mrs. Dean is now receiving calls from people in New York, San Diego, and other cities joining her campaign. "I had no dreams it would go that far," she said. "I get calls from all over the country. It's really amazing because I thought no one cared—and it seemed like nobody was doing anything."

After all, she said, "the hostages could come home, but not those kids."

—S.E.



GEORGIA DEAN: "Hostages came home; Atlanta children can't."

Political rights rally blasts Atlanta murders

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—"The killings in Atlanta have the same purpose as the lynchings of Blacks in the South years ago," Andrew Pulley told ninety participants in a rally for political rights here on February 28. "They are an attempt to terrorize us, to intimidate us from fighting back."

"The killings are an abomination. This is more serious than the bombing of the Birmingham church in 1963. It is more gruesome than the racist attacks on Black students in Boston in 1974 and 1975."

Pulley, who was the Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential candidate, blasted city officials for not catching the killer of the nineteen children.

"City officials want us to think the police are doing their damndest. They try to tell us it has nothing to do with racism," Pulley said. "But they refuse to investigate obvious suspects like the Ku Klux Klan. And there's been no investigation of the cops themselves, who are the biggest killers of Black people."

"The performance of the Atlanta cops is part of a pattern of government actions aimed at intimidating working people and gutting the Bill of Rights. It is of a piece with the role played by government agents in the murder of Viola Liuzzo in Alabama in 1965, and in the murder of antiracist demonstrators in Greensboro in 1979."

"The Socialist Workers Party's suit against the U.S. government is coming to trial in a few weeks. Our suit demands that the government end its campaign of spying, burglary, disruption, and harassment of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. It is part of the fight against the government's attacks on the basic rights of working people."

Pulley will be one of the main witnesses against the federal government at the upcoming trial.

Build March 15

"Another important part of that fight will be the national demonstration on March 15 called by Coretta Scott King and the Association of Christian

Student Leaders, Pulley said.

"A massive number of people should be out there."

At the rally, André Kahlmorgan launched her campaign as SWP candidate for Atlanta mayor. She is one of fifteen workers at Lockheed-Georgia—members of International Association of Machi-

nists Lodge 709—who were fired by the company for being union militants. Most are members of the SWP.

"I will use my campaign to push forward the investigation into the murders of the children," she said.

Kahlmorgan had just returned from Philadelphia, where the ideas of the green ribbons originated. She told the rally that many people in that city were wearing them. "This is something we need to see everywhere."

Investigate the police

"And we need to investigate the police cover-up in Atlanta too," Kahlmorgan said. "We need an independent commission of inquiry into the police. What would be more logical than for mothers of the missing children to be in on it?"

Leamon Hood, Atlanta area director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, also spoke.

"Spying and disruption has been a problem not just for the Socialist Workers Party. There is a long record of government spying and dirty tricks on the labor and civil rights organizations," Hood said.

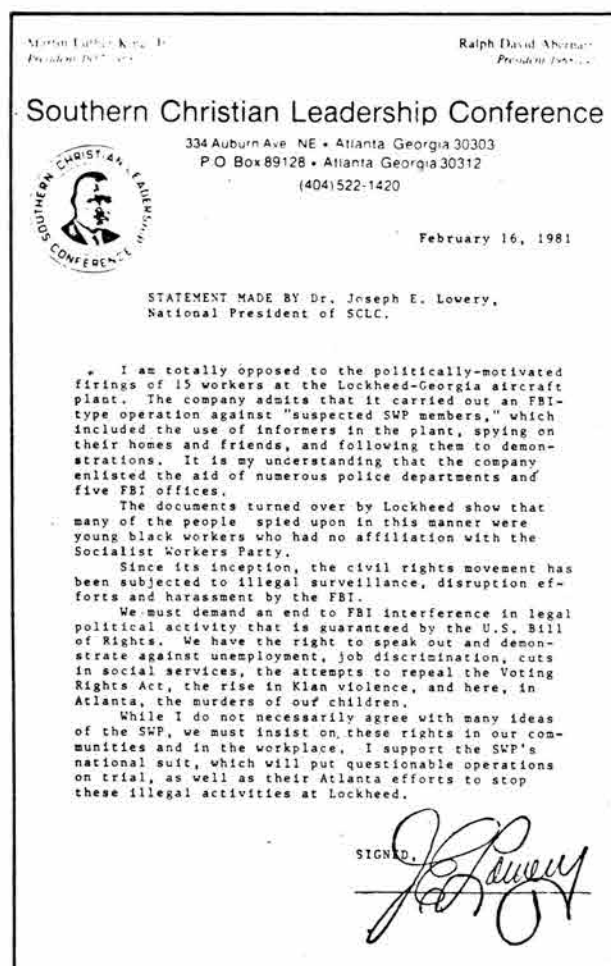
"But the other part of the story is don't be afraid. . . . We have to use our creative imaginations to get people mobilized."

Leslie Withers, a staff member at the southern office of Clergy and Laity Concerned, told the audience how the government tried to take away their mailing rights because of their campaign against the B-1 bomber.

"We were kept out of the mails for almost a year," she said. "We have to support each other when one of us gets some heat."

A message of solidarity was read from Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Other speakers included Sidney Hunter, a leader of the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance, and Betsy Soares, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.



Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sent the following message to the Atlanta rally to support the socialist suit against the government.

'How much is that paper?'

By Suzanne Haig

When people answered their doors February 28 and saw the *Militant* headline—"Atlanta: Are cops covering for child killers?"—the response was often instantaneous. "How much is that paper?" they asked.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who sold *Militant* subscriptions that day found this throughout the New Jersey and New York area.

One salesperson talked with a woman in Newark who was organizing a demonstration in response to the call for protests on March 15.

In Brooklyn, a Black woman bought herself a subscription, bought a second for her mother, then asked the salesperson if he would give her his green ribbon. Salespeople wore the ribbons in solidarity with the children of Atlanta.

At the Georgia King Village, a complex of garden apartments in Newark, one man told salesperson John Staggs, "I'm not prejudiced, but I know it's a white man who is doing this."

"If this many white kids were killed, you can be sure they would have found the person who did it by now."

One woman, looking at the *Militant* article on the possibility of cop involvement in the murders, told me, "That figures; I can believe that." She bought a subscription.

Another woman who subscribed told me she was worried. She had just talked to a friend in Atlanta who has several children and lives near the area where one of the slain children was found.

Many discussions centered on how the capitalist press lies. One man told salesperson Diane Jacobs, "Yes, they just tell you what they want you to know."

Another said, "The truth is too dangerous."

I got a similar response when I talked with people about the media lies on how many people turned out for the January 15 demonstration in Washington, D.C., for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday.

"I hear you," was one subscriber's reply.

Several Blacks had heard about the coal miners' protests against Reagan's budget and his threatened cuts of black lung benefits. The back page of the *Militant* featured this story. People saw the miners' action as defending them, too.

People were also interested in *Perspectiva Mundial*. Diane Jacobs talked with a young man who had recently visited Cuba and was very sympathetic to the revolutions in the Caribbean. He bought a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The team that went to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, sold five single copies of *PM* and five subscriptions. Two of these were renewals.

One older woman renewed her sub "so the children could find out what is really going on."

She said, "People really got a surprise with Reagan. Anybody who believed his promises and voted for him, now sees what he's really like."

She talked about how bad the economy is and how hard it is for a family to make ends meet.

One Latino family had a sign on their door saying, "We're Catholics. We don't accept propaganda from any other religious group." A team member went to the door and explained that they weren't a religious group.

The father, translating through his eight-year-old child, at first was unfriendly; but when he saw the *PM* headline on El Salvador, he said, "We may have our differences, but I want to find out about El Salvador."

Salesperson Gar House rang the bell at one apartment in Newark. A young Black man answered the door, reading a book about Malcolm X.

When Gar showed him the *Militant*, the man said, "Why I was just reading about that paper in this book!" Malcolm spoke highly of the *Militant* in several of his speeches.

The man bought a copy of the *Young Socialist*, a subscription to the *Militant*, and said he would like to visit the socialist bookstore in Newark.

Subscription scoreboard

As of February 28

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Washington, D.C.	70	60	10	11	80	71	89
Cleveland	40	35	10	6	50	41	82
Kansas City	61	44	10	11	71	55	77
Portland	30	22	0	0	30	22	73
Houston	45	35	15	8	60	43	72
San Diego	40	30	10	6	50	36	72
Birmingham	75	53	0	0	75	53	71
Albuquerque	45	31	15	11	60	42	70
Milwaukee	70	43	10	7	80	50	63
San Antonio	40	35	20	3	60	38	63
St. Louis	45	30	5	0	50	30	60
Los Angeles	105	60	35	20	140	80	57
Philadelphia	65	31	15	12	80	43	54
Boston	100	51	10	3	110	54	49
New Orleans	75	37	0	0	75	37	49
Denver	35	18	5	1	40	19	48
Tidewater	80	37	0	0	80	37	46
San Francisco	80	39	20	6	100	45	45
Phoenix	40	20	10	2	50	22	44
Pittsburgh	75	31	5	4	80	35	44
Atlanta	60	25	0	1	60	26	43
Iron Range	30	11	0	2	30	13	43
Morgantown	50	21	0	0	50	21	42
Twin Cities	88	33	12	8	100	41	41
Louisville	50	20	0	0	50	20	40
Piedmont	80	32	0	0	80	32	40
Baltimore	60	22	0	1	60	23	38
*Newark	150	58	35	13	185	71	38
Oakland	60	20	10	5	70	25	36
Chicago	85	31	25	6	110	37	34
Manhattan	150	55	75	21	225	76	34
Cincinnati	50	15	0	1	50	16	32
Detroit	75	27	10	0	85	27	32
Salt Lake City	60	13	5	8	65	21	32
Dallas	40	19	25	0	65	19	29
Toledo	35	10	0	0	35	10	29
Indianapolis	65	18	5	0	70	18	26
Miami	35	9	5	0	40	9	23
Seattle	75	15	5	3	80	18	23
Capital District	42	11	8	0	50	11	22
*Brooklyn	150	32	25	5	175	37	21
Gary	40	9	5	0	45	9	20
Charleston	20	3	0	0	20	3	15
San Jose	30	4	10	1	40	5	13
Miscellaneous		72		17		89	
TOTAL	2796	1327	465	203	3261	1530	47
SHOULD BE		1398		233		1631	50

*indicates area that has raised goal

Chemical workers strike Hooker Co.

By Diane Jacobs

"They snuck it in. They're trying to kill us. They are totally ignoring any safety control here whatsoever."

These were the sentiments of one of the 351 members of Local 482, United Glass and Ceramic Workers, which struck Hooker Chemical's Burlington, New Jersey, plastics plant on February 23. The workers walked out upon learning that a highly toxic gas, nitric oxide, had been brought into the plant without the union's knowledge.

Hooker Chemical, the people who brought us Love Canal, have a history of safety and health violations at the Burlington plant. Within the past five

years, eleven workers have suffered heart attacks or contracted cancer after exposure to toxic vinyl chloride. Five have since died.

Although Hooker has settled several medical cases out of court, management officially denies any "causal connection" between the illnesses and work exposure.

The nitric oxide, in thirty vats the size of railroad boxcars, had been brought into the plant to stop "runaway reactions" of chemicals in the plastic-making process. Such runaway reactions result in the venting of vinyl chloride, a deadly carcinogen, into the atmosphere.

A subsidiary of the giant California-based Occidental Petroleum Corporation, Hooker has a legacy of environmental pollution all across the country. More than 100,000 tons of toxic waste were dumped by Hooker, along with the U.S. government, in the Niagara Falls area alone.

Toxic gases—such as deadly chlorine in the case of one Michigan plant—are allowed to vent into the air and discharge in local waterways.

The union has "a responsibility to the community" to alert it to the dangers of this venting, said one chemical compounder on the picket line at the Burlington plant.

Robert Katherine, Hooker vice-president, said that the company intended to train workers to handle nitric oxide "later," when the new system would be put into effect. Meanwhile, the gas is being stored in cylinders next to vats that could heat up to 200 degrees Fahrenheit and cause the nitric oxide to explode.

Katherine claimed that salaried personnel—salesmen, researchers, and secretaries—will run the plant while the union remains on strike.

Workers have vowed not to return until Hooker promises no disciplinary actions for the walkout and agrees to discuss safety and health violations.

Bilingual decision: signal for racist attack

By Jim Little

LOS ANGELES—As in other U.S. cities, the press here has tried to downplay the Reagan administration's fresh assault on bilingual education.

"Bilingual Ruling: Less Than Meets the Eye, Little Effect Expected Here," said the headline of the February 5 *Los Angeles Times*.

But Henry Gutiérrez, director of the Hispanic Urban Center, says Reagan's action will have an immediate and long-term detrimental effect on bilingual programs:

"Many of the same forces that

backed antibusing Proposition One in 1979 are now trying to stop bilingual education."

In that campaign, antibusing forces succeeded in passing a referendum that stated California busing laws must not exceed watered-down federal mandates.

Gutiérrez cited the parallel: "Now that there are no strong federal guidelines, opponents of bilingual education will almost certainly open the argument that California shouldn't exceed federal requirements."

According to Dr. David Almada,

head of the Mexican American Educators, even under present state laws "districts really stretch the definition of 'in compliance.'"

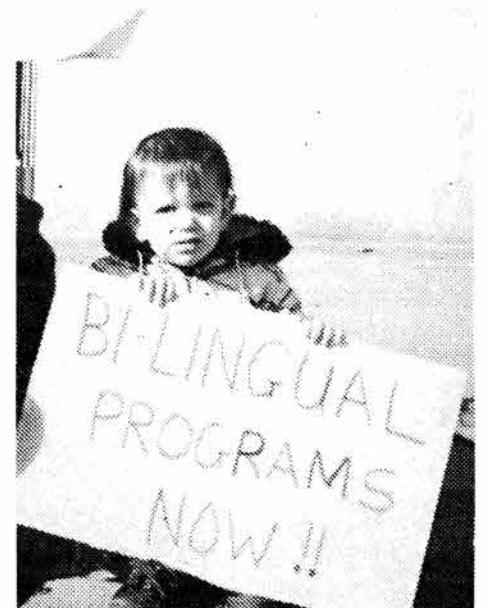
For example, he pointed out that of the 3,000 classrooms designated by the Los Angeles District as "bilingual," 55 percent have teachers who speak only English.

Almada took strong exception to surveys taken among the 118,000 children in the Los Angeles school district who speak little or no English, which purportedly show bilingual programs don't work. In these surveys, he pointed out, teachers are allowed to define themselves as bilingual. In reality, many are actually English speakers who are studying a second language. They are not qualified to be in a bilingual program.

The campaign against desegregation and bilingual education is conducted under the slogan of "quality education." Blacks are told they have no stake in bilingual education. Latinos are told they have no stake in busing. Whites are told to oppose both.

Meanwhile, the state's big-business politicians are steadily dismantling the public education system. In 1980 California spent \$1.4 billion less on education than it did in 1979. Worst hit were the minorities.

Segregated minority schools in Los Angeles get half to two thirds fewer dollars per pupil than predominately white schools. This, in a district where



Militant/Howard Petrick

Blacks, Latinos, and Asians make up over 70 percent of all school children.

It is obvious there can be no quality education until there is equality in education. A powerful working-class movement to defend free public education must take as its starting point the cause of bilingual education and busing to achieve equal, desegregated schools.

Jim Little is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles and a member of United Transportation Union Local 1770.

Firebomb attack on Detroit socialist

A molotov cocktail was thrown March 3 at the home of Elizabeth Ziers, an auto worker and member of United Auto Workers Local 600. She is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Michigan's fourth district.

Since she declared her candidacy February 27, Ziers has been the target of threatening phone calls and other harassment by avowed supporters of the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan.

One of her prominent opponents in the race for the seat (formerly held by Reagan budget director David Stockman) is Gerald Carlson. An open supporter of the Na-

zis, Carlson is seeking the Republican nomination.

On March 4 Ziers received a death threat in the mail.

"No way a red spy will beat former comrade Gerald Carlson," it declared amid racist epithets.

"So keep up your shit to try for the Michigan fourth district seat because we will kill you! Commie bitch."

The writers described themselves as the "Militant Detroit chapter KKK-Nazis."

Ziers is demanding a police investigation of possible involvement by Carlson and other supporters of the KKK and the Nazis in the incidents.

Salt Lake City: racist convicted of sniping Blacks

By Dave Hurst

SALT LAKE CITY—An avowed racist who brags about "how easy it is to kill niggers and get away with it" went on trial in a packed federal district courtroom here February 23.

Joseph Paul Franklin, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, and the National States Rights Party, is charged with violating the civil rights of David Martin, eighteen, and Ted Fields, twenty, by gunning

MARCH 4—Joseph Paul Franklin was convicted in Salt Lake City federal district court today for violating the civil rights of two Black joggers killed last August.

them down as they were jogging at Liberty Park last August 20.

First-degree murder charges are still pending against Franklin in Utah state court. He is also suspected of involvement in sniper killings in Cincinnati, Louisville, and other cities. The FBI describes Franklin as its prime suspect in the sniper attack on Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League, in Fort Wayne, Indiana, last May.

Federal prosecutors in the case of the two slain Black youth said in an

opening statement at the trial that evidence will be presented showing that Franklin talked to many people in Salt Lake about his hatred for Blacks and his belief that "race-mixing" should be punished.

Two women who were jogging with Martin and Fields when they were killed appeared as witnesses at the trial. They testified that eight shots were fired in all, and even after the two youths had fallen to the ground, the sniper kept pumping bullets into them.

Several residents witnessed the shootings and reported having seen the sniper's car around the neighborhood a few days before the killings. The car, a brown Camaro, has been identified as Franklin's.

Mickey Farman-ara testified that Franklin drove her around the city on August 16, just four days before the shootings. Franklin told her of his hatred of Blacks and how easy it would be to kill them. Farman-ara testified that while she was in Franklin's motel room she saw a large rifle in a closet. Martin and Fields were killed with a .30-06 rifle.

Rhonda Rainwater and Sandra Vigil testified that on the day of the shootings Franklin had picked them up while they were hitchhiking. Later, about an hour before the killings, they

saw Franklin again, near Liberty Park.

The trial of Joseph Paul Franklin comes amidst intense outrage in Salt Lake's Black community. Immediately after the murders, mass meetings of 1,000 or more were held to protest the killings and the reluctance of the police to carry out a thorough investigation.

Salt Lake City police at first refused to even acknowledge that the killings could have been racially motivated. Only pressure from the Black community forced the cops to launch the na-

tionwide manhunt that finally netted Franklin.

There are many unanswered questions about Franklin. Where did he get enough money to purchase weapons and travel around the country? Why was he left alone last September when he was being held in the police station in Florence, Kentucky? He escaped by crawling out a window.

A united movement against racist terror needs to be built in order to stop all the racist killers from carrying out their missions of murder.

Bomb threat at socialist rally

SALT LAKE CITY—In the midst of the trial of racist Joseph Franklin, a bomb threat was made on a February 27 rally here in support of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

The rally was held at a railroad co-op building. The fifty people in attendance heard SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes and other speakers.

Shortly after the rally ended, Salt Lake City Police Lt. W.C. Duncan entered the building.

Duncan told rally organizers an anonymous caller had informed police that "there is a bomb in the railroad co-op building. This is the Minutemen."

A search of the co-op ensued, which turned up no bomb.

This is the second incident in as many months involving the Salt Lake City SWP. Last January 17, the windows of their headquarters, and that of the local NAACP, were shot out and racist threats attached to the door. The cops have made no arrests.

Many countries balk

Reagan meets resistance on El Salvador

By Fred Murphy

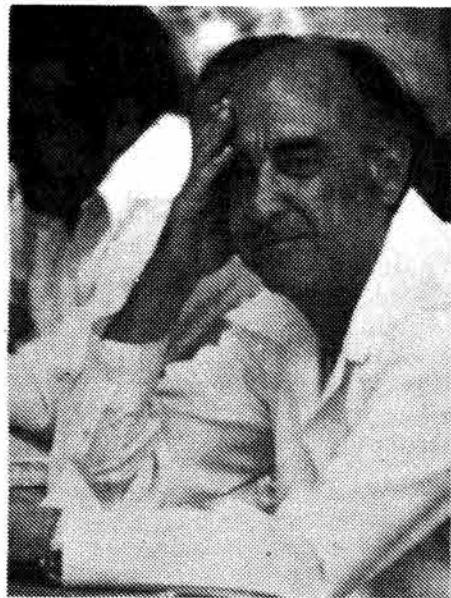
Despite opposition from allies abroad and a growing debate at home on the danger of "another Vietnam," the Reagan administration has stepped up its military intervention in El Salvador and its threats against Cuba.

El Salvador is "a situation in which Cuban activity has reached a peak that is no longer acceptable in this hemisphere," Secretary of State Alexander Haig said February 27. He termed Cuban solidarity with the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador "externally managed and orchestrated interventionism" and threatened, "We are going to deal with it at its source."

A flotilla of more than forty U.S. warships—including an aircraft carrier—has been assembled in the Caribbean Sea, ostensibly on a training exercise.

"These vessels and aircraft clearly could be used for some kind of blockade of Cuba," the *Washington Post* said February 25, "or to enforce some kind of U.S. threat to take action against vessels that cross a certain line off the El Salvador coast."

Under a plan reportedly approved by Reagan's National Security Council February 27, Washington will send \$25 million more in military aid to El Salvador; this includes naval patrol boats, helicopters, and radar equipment. Thirty more military advisers are also to be dispatched. (At present,



Mexican President López Portillo defies Washington, salutes Cubans.

Washington claims to have only twenty-seven advisers in El Salvador.)

Ominous parallels

Washington's campaign to frame up the Salvadoran rebels as agents of Moscow and Havana was launched in mid-February, using "secret documents" allegedly captured from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

This "evidence" was summed up in a State Department "White Paper" released February 23.

Washington's charges bore ominous resemblance to those leveled against the Guatemalan government in 1954 and the Cuban government in 1961. In each case, they provided the pretext for imperialist aggression.

On May 17, 1954, the State Department denounced the democratically elected Arbenz regime in Guatemala for having purchased 2,000 tons of arms from the Soviet Union. Vessels bound for Guatemala were halted and searched by the U.S. Navy. One month later, Arbenz was overthrown by a right-wing invasion force organized by the CIA.

On April 3, 1961, Washington issued a White Paper accusing Cuban leaders of having organized the "delivery of the revolution to the Sino-Soviet bloc." A key piece of evidence was the charge that "since the middle of 1960, more than 30,000 tons of arms... have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain



into Cuba in an ever-rising flood." Just two weeks later, Cuban counterrevolutionaries—armed, financed, trained, and transported by the CIA—tried to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón).

Salvadorans reject charges

The FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador flatly denied the State Department's charges in a statement released in late February.

When Washington sponsored the invasions of Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961 and sent its own troops to the Dominican Republic in 1965, it was able to count on near-unanimous support from the semicolonial regimes of Latin America. The Organization of American States (OAS) served faithfully as U.S. imperialism's "ministry of colonies."

But times have changed. Today, as a Latin American diplomat quoted in the March 1 *New York Times* put it, "There is no chance of getting a majority of the member countries of the Organization of American States to support a collective action in El Salvador."

In a futile search for such a majority, Reagan sent ex-CIA official Gen. Vernon Walters on a tour of Latin American capitals. But the general got a cool reception wherever he went.

Defiance from Mexico

Walters's first stop was Mexico, where he managed to meet briefly with President José López Portillo (earlier news reports had said incorrectly that López refused to see him).

The day after Walters's visit, López Portillo publicly defied Washington and gave a hearty welcome to Cuba's minister of economic cooperation. The Mexican president declared that Cuba was the Latin American country "most dear" to Mexico and told his guest to "give an embrace to my commander [Fidel Castro] and a very fraternal salute to the people of Cuba."

On February 24 López Portillo denounced "the unscrupulous arrogance of military power," reiterated his call for "a political solution" in El Salvador, and complained that Central America was being "elevated to the undesirable category of strategic frontier." He called for "rigorously preserving the principles of self-determination and nonintervention."

No support for intervention

General Walters fared little better during the remainder of his trip. In Brazil, the Foreign Ministry found the State Department's "proof" to be "not conclusive." Leading officials there "repeated their opposition to any type

of intervention in El Salvador," the *Washington Post* reported February 27.

Similar sentiments were expressed in Venezuela, where Foreign Minister José Zambrano complained that Washington was "trying to transfer its confrontation with the Soviet Union to Latin America."

Costa Rica's President Rodrigo Carazo—like Venezuela's Herrera Campins a firm supporter of the Salvadoran junta—warned February 21 that U.S. military intervention in Central America would produce "an explosion of unimaginable consequences."

General Walters's last stop was Panama, where an earlier effort by Washington to pressure the government had backfired badly. Shortly after taking office, Secretary of State Haig sent a diplomatic note to the Panamanian government complaining of the latter's friendly ties to Cuba and charging that Panama was being used by the Cubans to send arms and trained fighters to El Salvador.

"It is false that Panama is being used to send troops and weapons to El Salvador," President Aristides Royo replied, according to a published account by Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez. "The only country that has used our territory against our will to interfere in El Salvador is the United States."

Even leading capitalist politicians in the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico have openly opposed Washington's plans. The chairman of the Justice Committee of Puerto Rico's Senate, Francisco Aponte Pérez, denounced the island's governor, Carlos Romero Barceló, on February 26 for allowing "Puerto Rican soil and lives" to be used by Washington for intervention in El Salvador. "If the United States decides to intervene militarily," Aponte warned, Central America's "Vietnam will be El Salvador."

'Morally dubious'

While Washington's effort to line up support in Western Europe eventually produced perfunctory statements of sympathy from the British and French governments, the main effect was to focus public attention on the brutality of the armed forces in El Salvador and the growing U.S. military role there.

When the State Department's Lawrence Eagleburger was in Britain, for example, the London *Sunday Times* featured an eight-column exposé of a massacre of 300 refugees by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies. An accompanying editorial termed the Salvadoran regime "a reactionary tyranny" and rejected Washington's position as "politically dangerous and morally dubious."

In the Netherlands, Eagleburger was met by a demonstration protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Shortly before he arrived, the Dutch Chamber of Deputies had passed a resolution calling for an end to U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

Eagleburger's visit to West Germany coincided with an effort by the Schmidt government to encourage negotiations between the Salvadoran junta and the FDR. Thus Schmidt was reluctant to make any statement implying support for Washington's belligerent stance toward the rebels. Schmidt's Social Democratic Party (SPD) is on record supporting the FDR.

On February 17—the day Eagleburger arrived in Bonn—the SPD youth (Jusos) called on Schmidt to reaffirm West German backing of the FDR. "European governments," the Jusos' statement said, "must not accept the fact that the U.S. government is more and more openly supporting the Salvadoran military junta." They called for defending the principle of self-determination "even when this leads to conflicts with the United States."

Big debate opening up

The hesitations voiced by Washington's allies in Europe are also finding expression in ruling-class political circles in the United States itself. While Reagan was able to line up broad, bipartisan support for his warnings to Cuba and Nicaragua, no consensus exists for trying to impose a military solution in El Salvador.

The growing debate was most clearly reflected in testimony by ex-U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White before a House subcommittee on February 25. White speaks for those policymakers who fear the consequences at home and internationally of giving unconditional backing to the blood-stained regime in El Salvador.

In arguing against Reagan's proposals, White acknowledged that "the chief killer of Salvadorans is the government security forces."

"The security forces in El Salvador have been responsible for the deaths of thousands and thousands of young people," White declared. "Are we going to send military advisers in there and be part of that activity?"

Fifty-three members of the House of Representatives have introduced legislation to cut off all U.S. military aid and sales to El Salvador. One of the sponsors, Rep. Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, told a Baltimore audience February 9 that on a fact-finding trip to Central America she learned that rape was a "systematic method of terrorism" used by the Salvadoran junta's armed forces. Women refugees "told us babies are thrown into the air and used for target practice," Mikulski said. "Women are quartered, their breasts cut off."

"Everywhere I went," Mikulski said, "I asked: 'Are these atrocities also committed by the left?' 'No,' they answered, 'Always by the military.'"

No more Vietnams

The Reagan administration's recent moves have touched off a flurry of columns and editorials in the U.S. capitalist press warning against getting involved in "another Vietnam."

Writing in the *Washington Post* February 28, columnist Philip Geyelin found "some enormously unsettling similarities" to Vietnam "in the Haig/Reagan approach to El Salvador."

"Even the administration's protestations of what it will not do have a familiar ring," Geyelin wrote. "There will be no American combat troops; American boys, to paraphrase Lyndon Johnson in 1964, will not fight wars that El Salvadoran security forces are supposed to fight."

From Intercontinental Press

Salvador unionists appeal to steelworkers

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Denouncing the U.S. State Department's White Paper on alleged Soviet-Cuban terrorism as "completely false," Salvadoran trade-union leader Jorge Mendoza told a steelworker gathering here that the document was "issued to create conditions to justify direct military intervention" in the Central American nation.

He appealed for U.S. labor solidarity to help stop the White House from making his country the next Vietnam.

Mendoza, the president of the Radio, Theatre, Television and Cinematography Workers Union, was joined in blasting the White Paper by Alfonso Martínez, head of El Salvador's Federation of Unions in the Food, Clothing and Textile Industries.

The two labor leaders spoke to a meeting sponsored by United Steelworkers Local 65 in the union's South Chicago headquarters on February 25. They were welcomed and introduced by the union's financial secretary, Lupe Valadez.

Mendoza denied the White Paper's charges of military aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba to the guerrilla struggle against the regime. He rejected the U.S. government's claim that the popular rebellion is "a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers through Cuba."

The real terrorists, Mendoza said, hold governmental power, and maintain it with "many millions of dollars from the United States, with U.S. guns, ammunition, helicopters, transport planes, and military advisers shipped from bases in the Panama Canal Zone."

Alfonso Martínez showed the steelworker audience computer print-outs provided by the offices of the El Salvador Commission on Human Rights and the country's Catholic archdiocese, which named dead and "disappeared" citizens and trade union officials.

The lists were an inch thick.



From left, Alfonso Martínez; translator Ellen Bamberger from Chicago El Salvador Solidarity Committee; Jorge Mendoza; Local 65 Financial Secretary Lupe Valadez.

"Union local halls are dynamited, set on fire, leaders are captured and killed," Martínez explained. "Genocide is being carried out against our people."

No one is safe from the government-backed terror, "not even our beloved Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero," Martínez said.

He termed the government's heavily publicized "land reform" program a fraud. "Those who criticize are killed," he said.

All the media which in any way differed with government policies, Martínez said, "have been closed. Radio, television, newspapers, and magazines, such as *El Independiente* and *La Crónica*, are shut down. Reporters have been killed or 'disappeared.'"

For all these reasons, the union president said, there is overwhelming opposition to the government. "Our people have decided to carry out the struggle for our liberation."

Despite stepped-up support by Reagan, Congress, and the Pentagon for the dictatorship, Mendoza said, "we know to differentiate between the policies of the Department of State and the

workers and people of the United States."

"We hope you will put a stop to the war tendencies of the administration," the labor leader told the steelworkers.

In the future government of El Salvador, Martínez said, "we want friendly relations with the U.S. government, but with mutual respect, not exploitation and domination."

Ending that exploitation of working people in El Salvador is in the direct interests of the U.S. labor movement, Martínez explained. He told of government-created "tax free zones" set up for U.S. companies, whose investments yield gigantic profits.

"The U.S. corporations pay our people \$4.40 a day," Martínez said. "They

build factories here, exploit our people as cheap labor while the government guarantees the multinationals' profits. This helps create our unemployment. If we are able to free ourselves, it will help you."

"We have a common enemy," he continued. "The same people who you go out on strike against. The exploiters. The multinationals. We should unite against our common enemies. That is what the brotherhood of labor means."

He and Mendoza urged the USWA members to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and demand Reagan cease all aid to the military dictatorship. Mendoza suggested that, with official authorization, union members might be able to check off an hour's pay to donate to the solidarity movement.

Martínez hailed the anti-intervention, antidraft national marches on Washington and San Francisco called for May 9 by the recent convention of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).

"We celebrate and are happy about your decision to fight the draft," Martínez said.

The two union leaders were warmly received by the steelworkers. Their soft-spoken but powerful presentations hardly fit the State Department image of "terrorists."

There wasn't a hostile question from the meeting. After it ended, a number of USWA members went up to shake the hands of the Salvadoran labor leaders and wish them good luck.

CISPES plans spring drive to counter Reagan offensive

By Nelson González

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has launched a three-month counter-offensive to expose the U.S. government's lies on El Salvador.

Heidi Tarver, East Coast coordinator of CISPES, talked to the *Militant* about the campaign.

When asked about the State Department's charges that El Salvador represents a "textbook case of indirect armed aggression by communist powers," she replied: "This is absurd. The Salvadoran people were fighting the military and repression long before the Cuban or Nicaraguan revolutions."

"The parallels with Vietnam are obvious," she added. "Washington is committing itself deeper and deeper in El Salvador."

CISPES is planning a national day of solidarity each month for the next three months, Tarver said.

The first will be on March 24 and will center on the first anniversary of

the assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Romero. CISPES chapters will organize ecumenical services, rallies, and a national hunger strike to protest U.S. policy in El Salvador.

The next target date is April 18, the anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). CISPES plans a series of speaking tours and major meetings for FDR spokespeople, to give the American people a chance to hear the legitimate voice of the Salvadoran people.

All this activity will culminate on May 9, when CISPES will join with the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft and many other groups in Washington and San Francisco marches against draft registration and the U.S. role in El Salvador.

Tarver said that the next issue of the CISPES newsletter, *El Salvador Alert*, will be ready for distribution March 5.

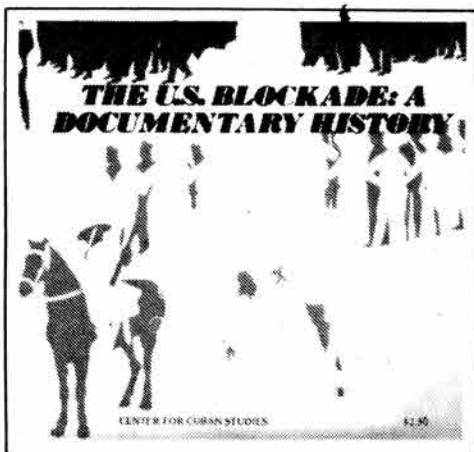
For more information, contact CISPES at 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 887-5019.

The U.S. Blockade: A Documentary History

In January 1975, Fidel Castro said, "... the blockade was a decision taken by the United States for the purposes of preventing economic development in Cuba and of choking the Revolution. To tell you the truth, the fight has been a hard struggle. But we have survived."

80 pages, 8½ x 11 inches, \$2.50. Published by the Center for Cuban Studies.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. (Include \$.75 for postage and handling.)



Fidel Castro in Moscow: 'We will fight for every inch of Cuba'

The following are excerpts from Fidel Castro's speech in Moscow February 24 to the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

The Yankee imperialists are now seeking to brand as terrorists the national liberation movements and the struggles of the peoples for social change. To be a revolutionary or even to be progressive or fight for democracy means, for them, to be a terrorist. With such lies and fallacies they are removing the last fig leaf of human rights and once again proclaiming themselves the gendarmes of the world.

Brandishing the specter of inter-

vention in Latin America, they are threatening the patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala with sinister plans for aggression. They are arming the bloody and truly genocidal governments of those nations.

They have launched gross slanders against the socialist and progressive countries in an effort to show that what is happening in Central America is not the result of the just rebellion of the peoples against crime, longstanding oppression, and pitiless imperialist exploitation, but rather the consequence of supposed international conspiracies.

At the same time, they raise obstacles, harass, and try to intimidate the revolutionary people of Nicaragua. They aid and encour-

age the most corrupt and criminal dictatorships of our continent. And they undermine the work of every government that speaks with its own voice or seeks to improve the lot of its people. In this way they expose their aim of implanting a more and more ironhanded domination throughout the hemisphere.

Ninety miles from our homeland, there are voices that proclaim the need to destroy us. We are openly threatened with the imposition of a military blockade. The most drastic measures are being analyzed, with the aim of erasing from Latin America the example of socialist Cuba, and of punishing the Cuban people for their friendship with the USSR and the socialist community, and for their unshakeable solidarity with the people of Africa and

the worldwide revolutionary and progressive movement.

Cuba can never be forced to yield!

We are building the new socialist society with calm resolve. We are completely dedicated to creative labor. With the same dedication, however, we are preparing to defend the homeland, which we fought for more than 100 years to liberate.

We will fight to the death for every inch of soil if imperialism dares to attack our socialist homeland!

We will not reject the olive branch if it is offered, but neither will we retreat in face of aggression.

Principles are not negotiable!

Grenada: story of revolutionary island

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—The Grenadian revolution spoke to thousands of people here, through television, radio, newspapers, and meetings for Grenada's ambassador to the Organization of American States, Dessima Williams.

She toured here under the sponsorship of the Chicago chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society February 21-24.

Williams told 200 Chicago Vocational High School students that on March 13, 1979, "a new day, a new beginning" was launched for her Caribbean homeland as Grenadians "by the thousands poured into the streets answering the call of the New Jewel Movement" to overthrow the hated tyranny of dictator Eric Gairy.

More than 700 people heard her speak at the high school and in meetings at Chicago's Operation PUSH, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and campus gatherings at the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and University of Illinois-Circle. She detailed the big gains the first free Black country in the world has made in its first two years of existence.

Unemployment has been reduced from 49 percent to 30 percent. Greatly expanded health care is now free. Functional illiteracy has been virtually wiped out. By the fall, public education—which previously cost a large percentage of the average Grenadian wage earner's salary—will be totally free.

An equal rights amendment for women has been passed and enforced.

A new trade union movement has been born, organizing unorganized workers, winning pay raises, and con-

fronting employers who are now compelled by law to recognize them.

"We are building a grassroots democracy," Williams said, where "decision-making is in the people's hands, in village and community councils, in health and education councils, in the mass organizations [trade unions, farmers' organizations, women's groups]."

Williams was cheered as she explained her country's foreign policy, as part of the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations.

"It is an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, antiracist policy," she said, citing Grenada's fraternal ties with Cuba, its support to the Nicaraguan government, and its solidarity with the popular struggle against the military dictatorship in El Salvador.

Grenada, she said, stands with the Palestine Liberation Organization and the African liberation struggle. At the recent ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Nations, Grenada gave \$50,000 to the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of Namibia from racist South Africa.

Williams also responded to Washington's war-like threats against her country and the rest of the Caribbean.

She said the government was organizing a "popular army and a people's militia" to defend its sovereignty. Grenada seeks "normal and friendly relations" with the United States, she stressed. But, she said, "countries must have the right to pursue their own process."

There is no threat "we can't deal with," Williams said, often to applause from new-won friends of Grenada. More than 100 of them signed the mailing list of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.



Visit Cuba for May Day

One-week tour:

April 26-May 3

New two-week tour:

April 19-May 3

It's only ninety miles from Florida, but the U.S. trade blockade against Cuba and the campaign of lies about life there make it unknown territory for most Americans. Why not go see for yourself? Celebrate May Day, the international workers' holiday, in Havana.

These tours are especially designed for American trade unionists. You will meet with Cuban unionists, visit workplaces, and have time to explore Havana on your own.

On May Day you will be part of the huge rally in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution.

The one-week tour, April 26-May 3, costs \$535. It includes an overnight trip to Pinar del Río.

The two-week tour, tentatively set for April 19-May 3, will cost about \$830. This group will fly to Santiago, returning by bus to Havana in time for May Day.

Prices include round trip air transportation from Miami, hotel accommodations (double occupancy), three meals per day, transportation for group visits, and the services of a bilingual Cuban guide. Full payment and passport information for both tours is due March 20.

To apply for either tour, send \$100 deposit now with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Town Meeting blasts congressman

Peter Thierjung from Albany reports that Congressman Samuel Stratton from the Twenty-eighth District in New York State got a big surprise when he called two town meetings to hear from his constituents concerning local, national, and international issues.

More than 200 people attended the meetings on February 13 and 14. They were mad about such issues as gas and oil deregulation, benefits for Vietnam veterans, and Social Security payments.

By far the most vocal opposition came from a contingent of constituents concerned with El Salvador. Many of the young people blasted U.S. support to the Salvadoran junta.

Congressman Stratton, who is currently the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and was a proponent of the "bomb Iran strategy" during the hostage crisis, responded by saying that it was sometimes better to support a fascist government than to allow a communist takeover.

He also claimed that Archbishop Romero was really murdered by a mob of Salvadorans and not the right wing.

One senior citizen stood up shaking with anger and blasted Stratton for supporting the junta with millions of our tax dollars, while the government was contemplating cuts in Social Security and Medicaid benefits.

That same week a press conference was organized to denounce U.S. military aid to the junta. Speakers included Albany's Catholic Bishop Howard Hubbard; Rev. James Reid, executive director of Christians United in Mission; Ed Bloch, international representative of the United Electrical union; and others.

When Bloch was asked what stake the labor movement had in the issue of El Salvador he responded by saying, "The United States involvement abroad is part of the effort of the corporations to break our unions here at home. Working people don't want the economic crisis solved by a war. That's part of the Vietnam legacy."

The day after the press conference more than 120 people, including trade unionists, attended an "Emergency Meeting on El Salvador" and decided to initiate a Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador chapter.

The Clash solidarizes with Nicaragua

For solidarity activists who like to combine a little business with pleasure, the world of music has something for you.

The February 21 *Miami Herald* presents a favorable review of a three-record set by a group called The Clash.

The name of the set is *Sandinista!* and as the title suggests, the political commentary it makes is supportive of the Nicaraguan revolution.

However, it is not just limited to this theme.

In the context of mainstream punk, but including a mixture of reggae, calypso, jazz, and gospel (just to make everybody happy), *Sandinista!* is intended as a manifesto about a variety of nations and social ills.

Examples of some of the songs on the album are "Ivan meets G.I. Joe," a light-hearted look at World War III. "The Call Up" is a song about draft resistance. Then there's "Washington Bullets," which is directed against U.S. support to dictators, specifically in the history of Nicaragua.

According to some record buffs I know, the three-disc album, priced at \$14.98, is a pretty good deal for the chunk of music it offers.

So after a long hard day of solidarity activities, take some friends home with you and listen to *Sandinista!*

USWA: money for jobs, not war

United Steelworkers Local 65 in Chicago passed a resolution on El Salvador at its February 11 meeting. The resolution concludes with the following statement:

"Therefore be it resolved:

"Following the example of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which has refused since December to handle any and all military cargo bound for El Salvador, an action that has won the support of the International Woodworkers' Union, Machinists Union, and National Council of Catholic Bishops, that Local 65 USWA add its voice to the growing religious and labor opposition to continued support from our government to the El Salvador military junta in any form and demand the withdrawal from that country of all U.S. troops and 'advisors' whose presence in El Salvador was reported by two officials who quit the government in protest; and

"Be it further resolved:

"Local 65 USWA contact our elected representatives strongly urging that our tax dollars be used to relieve the suffering of the disadvantaged and unemployed of our own country rather than be used to finance bloodshed in El Salvador.

"A representative of the local El Salvador Support Committee be invited to address the membership of Local 65, and copies of this resolution be reprinted in 65 News and sent to the local newspapers."

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Right-wing union hacks set back

Why Grenada masses opposed dock strike

When the New Jewel Movement led a victorious revolution in Grenada in 1979 it enjoyed the support of the big majority of the island's working people.

Since the revolution, the workers have won control in a number of unions previously dominated by corrupt officials opposed to the revolution. But that process of cleansing the unions is not yet completed.

For example, the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union (SWWU) is one of the few remaining unions saddled with a reactionary leadership. What these officials are up to was shown in an article, "Dock Mafia Tries to Strike Again" that appeared in the January 10 issue of the *Free West Indian*, a weekly in St. Georges, Grenada. The following are excerpts.

* * *

Through the efforts of patriotic forces within the labour movement, significant advances were made over the past 10 days in the interests of the poor and working people, despite attempts by some elements bent on subverting the Revolution.

On January 1, progressive dockworkers and other members of the community in St. George's offloaded a consignment of free milk, after leaders of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union (SWUU) had called a sudden strike that would have left the milk to spoil.

The strike call on December 30, by senior SWWU officials, brought a sharp response from the People's Revolutionary Government.

The PRG, in an official statement, said the half-million pounds of powdered milk sent for free distribution by the European Economic Community had been anxiously awaited, especially by children and expectant mothers,



Big majority of Grenada's workers, like these militia members, back revolution. They still have a few old-time union bureaucrats to clean out.

because the free milk programme had been stalled for the past few months because of a lack of milk.

"It came as a great shock to those people of St. George's, who discovered that this undemocratic action had been taken by some of the union leaders, without consulting the rank and file members of the union," said the PRG.

"Many dockworkers were so annoyed and disgusted by this strike call

that they refused to be part of the strike action and even offered to assist in offloading this shipment," the statement continued.

Condemnation of the SWWU action also came from a number of progressive and revolutionary organisations, including the National Woman's Organization (NWO), which offered its members' labour, if necessary, to offload the milk.

The SWWU leaders had justified their strike call by claiming to have the right, not only to unload the cargo from the ship onto the docks, but also to carry the goods from the docks to the government warehouse.

However, under the terms of their contract with Grenada Shipping Agents, the union's only obligation is to offload the cargo onto the docks. It is then up to the receiver of the goods, (in this case, the PRG) to move the cargo from the docks to a warehouse.

A special issue of the newspaper *Workers' Voice* hit the streets of St. George's last Thursday [January 8] with the headline: "STOP the Docks Mafia."

It said many workers are still baffled about why the SWWU leaders preferred to call a strike rather than offload the big shipment of free milk for the poor and working people of Grenada.

The paper said that some "Mafia-type" elements in the SWWU leadership, "some of whom are trained by the CIA are to blame for this action."

Long-time observers of the labour movement in Grenada are convinced that the SWWU leaders intended to gain political mileage from their strike call. They note that the "Dock Mafia's" motive was to make the boat leave Grenada with the milk, thereby embarrassing the PRG, denying our people free milk and ultimately destroying a very popular programme of the Revolution.

"The same blood money that caused thousands of workers in Chile to be murdered is the same money from the American Institute of Free Labour Development that's paying Stanley Roberts, a leader of the 'Dock Mafia,'" said one dockworker.

From Intercontinental Press

Forum assesses Malcolm's lessons for today

By Robert Dees

BROOKLYN—"Malcolm X and the Fight Against Racism Today" was the topic of a recent Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum marking the sixteenth anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X.

Speakers from the Brooklyn chapter of the newly-formed National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the National Black United Front (NBUF), Harlem Fightback, and the Socialist Workers Party participated.

Nzinga Ashford, a co-convenor of the Brooklyn chapter of the NBIPP, told the audience, "Malcolm was the finest fighter for Black liberation produced by the Black people in this country."

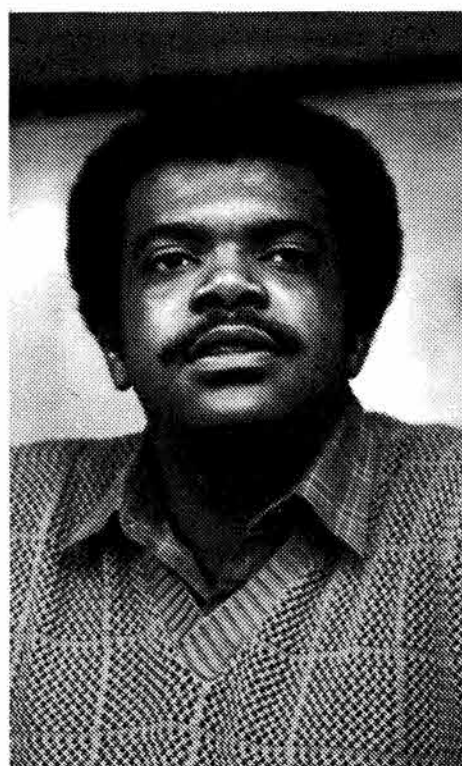
She discussed the political context in which the NBIPP was formed. Reagan's election represents a definite shift to the right by the ruling rich of this country, she said. "The budget cuts hurt only the poor and working people, especially Blacks." Ashford cited the ominous murders of Blacks in major cities across the country as part of the government's offensive against Blacks.

"One of the major contributions of Malcolm X was to support armed self-defense, a rare and unpopular position then, but which is now a settled question among Blacks," she continued.

"In conclusion, we should keep in mind that the '80s will demand from us even more courageous and far-sighted leadership than the '60s demanded from Malcolm, because the danger is infinitely greater."

The next speaker was Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan Borough president.

"It is a misconception that Reagan's election represents a shift to the right by the American people," he said. "An important development is in progress:



Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan borough president.

the labor party discussion now taking place within the American labor movement. This certainly marks a shift, but not to the right."

Milner noted that "Blacks are most open to the ideas of independent political action, to the labor party, and to Black independent political action. The National Black Independent Political Party represents a big organizational step forward for the liberation of Black people."

Milner talked about the "Dump Koch" movement developing in the upcoming New York City mayoral election. Some people are looking for a liberal Democrat to run against Koch,

he said, but "we shouldn't forget that Koch got his start as a liberal Democrat. Supporting another liberal Democrat would be another dead-end for working people."

"The Democrats are dependent on Black support. Take that away and labor will be faced with the question of what to do next. Therefore, one of the best ways to win the labor movement to the idea of a labor party is to help build the NBIPP," Milner concluded.

Milner urged support for the Black United Front's antiracist protests on April 4.

Minister Michael Amon-Ra of the National Black United Front emphasized the need to embark on a massive effort to organize Black people in this country. He noted that Malcolm recognized the need to form a progressive front with others attempting to bring about change.

"In a famous speech, Malcolm advocated organizing Muslims, Baptists, Methodists, Communists, Marxists, nothingists," Minister Michael continued.

"We see a resurgence of neoimperialism to try to reclaim areas demanding their freedom," he pointed out. But before the imperialists can put down these freedom fighters abroad, Minister Michael noted that "they have to deal at home with those who see that they are the last slated for any benefits, and even are under attack."

This is why "police are given complete license to kill, with assurance of exoneration, and with the support of the major media," Minister Michael said. "Self-defense is a rational action in face of attacks, but this self-defense must be coordinated," he added.

The last speaker was Gil Banks from Harlem Fightback.

"This system has no feelings about anything except profits, and if you get in the way of profits, you're expendable," he said. "Until you begin dealing with this system, nothing is going to change."

"In order to deal with the problems of working people in this country, you must deal with the problems of Blacks."

Black party youth set N.Y. meeting

By Melvin Chappell

The youth caucus of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) will sponsor a Northeast Regional Organizing Conference at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, New York, on March 27-29.

The conference is hosted and actively supported by the Student Government Association of Medgar Evers College. All Black students and youth are encouraged to attend.

The conference theme is "Black Students/Youth Unite to Meet the Challenge of the 80s: Build the National Black Independent Political Party." The tentative program will include workshops on the draft, Black colleges, youth unemployment, the Klan, and many other issues facing youth and students. There will also be a keynote address by Manning Marable, a national leader of the NBIPP.

For further information contact your local chapter of the NBIPP, or contact Medgar Evers College, Student Government Association, 1150 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225. Telephone (212) 735-1820.

Dobbs to testify at trial of socialist suit

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—Farrell Dobbs will be the lead-off witness when the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment goes to trial.

Dobbs will testify on the origins of the Marxist movement in the United States. Uniquely qualified on the subject, Dobbs was formerly national secretary of the SWP and is author of the new book, *Revolutionary Continuity, Marxist Leadership in the U.S., 1848-1917*.

When Dobbs mounts the witness stand he will be testifying for the prosecution. On November 17, 1941, Dobbs took the stand in another trial. Then the roles were reversed. Here is how the *Militant* reported it at the time:

"The next and last witness for the defense was defendant Farrell Dobbs, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs was formerly general organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. He described the successful organization of the eleven-state over-the-road drivers' movement of nearly 250,000 truckers."

It was union and antiwar activity that caused the government to bring charges against Dobbs. Along with seventeen others, he was hauled into court, tried, and convicted of "sedi-



Militant/Mohammed Oliver

tion." They spent twelve to eighteen months in prison.

The charge was violating the notorious Smith Act, which bans the expression of ideas deemed dangerous by the ruling class. Dobbs and the others were convicted of a "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

It was a frame-up from start to

finish. Even the attorney general at the time was forced to later write, "I have since come to regret that I authorized the prosecution. . . . There had been no substantial overt acts outside of talk and threats, openly expressed in the time-honored Marxist lingo."

But it's exactly the "talk and threats" that the government is so afraid of. In that trial the socialists did the same thing they now plan to do forty years later. That is, explain in a forthright way exactly what their ideas are.

Teamster leader

Dobbs joined the socialist movement in 1934. He was then working in a coal yard in Minneapolis. Dobbs and others, including the Dunne brothers—V.R., Grant, and Miles—became the leaders of a fight that transformed the city from an open shop haven to a union stronghold.

As an official of the international union, Dobbs is widely credited with developing the strategy that allowed the Teamsters to expand from a small, craft union to a massive organization based in the trucking industry.

Dobbs' reputation was such that even former Teamster President James Hoffa, certainly no friend, wrote in his autobiography, "In labor halls throughout America, the name of Far-

rell Dobbs was more than well-known. It was keenly respected."

Dobbs resigned his post with the Teamsters to become a full-time national officer of the SWP. He was the party's presidential candidate four times—1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960.

Dobbs served as SWP national secretary from 1953 to 1972. He has since devoted full time to writing. He is author of a four-volume work on the Minneapolis Teamster development. His new book is the first in a projected series on the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States.

Help wanted

The *Militant* is looking for a skilled stenographer to be part of our team covering the upcoming trial of the socialist suit against government harassment. It requires living in the New York City area, beginning later this month through the duration of the trial. If you think you might qualify, call the *Militant* editorial office: (212) 243-6392.

A question of ideas

How much is an idea worth?

That question is brought to mind by two events that at first seem totally unrelated.

One was a meeting that took place in New York not long ago. "Liberals Seek New Answers In Reagan Era," was the headline in the *New York Times*.

The other is the upcoming trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

The liberal meeting was sponsored by *Nation* magazine. To attend you had to pay \$25. An

against the socialists—and to continue it—because of anything they've done, but because of their ideas.

These ideas must be worth considerably more than \$25. At least in the government's estimate. They've spent millions trying to keep people from hearing them.

What are these ideas? When the trial gets going, the socialists intend to put them on the record in the courtroom. In a word the ideas can be called Marxism.

Social classes

On a philosophical level, Marxists say that ideas in and of themselves don't have any value. They don't have an independent existence. Ideas don't just float in space, as some thinkers over the years have argued. They grow out of life. They assume meaning in the day-to-day historical circumstances in which people find themselves.

In general, ideas can be said to reflect the point of view of social classes.

All of this may seem abstract or irrelevant at times. Especially as presented by people who either don't understand Marxism or are opposed to it. But there are times when it seems quite concrete and relevant. This is one of those times.

Marxism is a set of ideas that embody the perspectives and interests of the working class.

Liberalism also expresses the point of view of a class.

The term liberalism is sometimes used as a label for the philosophical and political thought of the bourgeoisie as a whole, especially when it first appeared as a class.

In this century in the United States the label has been used to designate one end of the spectrum of capitalist politics.

It used to seem as if liberals had at least some ideas. Some said they were very exciting ideas. Now

it seems they have no ideas at all. What has changed?

As a current of bourgeois opinion, the horizons of liberalism are limited by the prospects of that class.

When the ruling class was in a position to offer workers more, the liberals had ideas. At bottom they were proposals about how many concessions should be made and where and to whom.

Today the ruling class is no longer promising workers a rising living standard and new concessions. Instead, they are only offering austerity, cutbacks, and sacrifice.

Now, to the extent that liberals have any ideas at all, they tend to be over what to take back and how much and how fast. Essentially, the liberals and the conservatives are now saying the same thing.

As the liberals retreat—or more accurately, move into step with the rest of their class—we see something else going on. The working class, in response to the attacks the liberals are helping to administer, is beginning to resist.

Two sides

We see this in the mine workers' call for a two-day walkout to let it be known that Reagan is not going to get away with his plans to get rid of their hard-won black lung benefits.

We see it in the stand of some unions against U.S. moves in El Salvador, and in opposition to nuclear power.

When the trial opens in Manhattan this month, two sides will square off over a question of ideas.

These ideas become more timely every day. More and more workers will be interested in finding out what Marxists have to say. The government knows this very well.

That's why at the same time some people don't have any ideas anymore, you see the government trying to silence those who do.

—Nelson Blackstock

As I see it

overflow crowd showed up. When all was said and done, however, one participant was heard to say, "I want my money back."

Evidently the answers offered were not worth \$25. Not having been at the meeting myself, I can't really comment on what was said. But this does serve to illustrate a state of affairs that has become more and more obvious this year. That's the crisis of the liberals. They just don't seem to have any ideas.

Turning to the socialist suit, we find that as the trial date nears—after more than seven years of government obstruction—the issues at stake are coming into focus. One thing that has helped here is the government's trial plan. In it they outline the basis of their defense against the demand that the socialists be left alone and that the government be penalized for past disruption.

The government defense boils down to this: It was right and proper to mount a prolonged offensive

Shots fired into K.C. SWP H.Q.

By Isabella Listopad

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—When Socialist Workers Party members arrived at their headquarters here the morning of February 27 they discovered that five shots had been fired through the storefront window.

They quickly announced a 10 a.m. news conference. Speakers, who came within an hour's notice, included Joseph Beasley, director of Operation PUSH; Peggy Frantz of the Greater Kansas City Committee to Oppose the Draft; Ed Haase, El Salvador Solidar-

ity Committee; and Chris Hoepfner, one of fifteen fired by Lockheed-Georgia for union activity and political views.

All speakers agreed that the target of the attack was broader than the socialists. They labeled it an attempt to keep people from speaking their mind.

Hoepfner, who was here as part of a national tour, pinned blame for such attacks on the government. By not arresting and prosecuting those responsible, he said, the authorities are giving a green light to Ku Kluxers and

their ilk to escalate such assaults on the Black community and others.

A message was sent to the mayor and the police commissioner demanding an investigation and the arrest of those guilty of the shooting.

The socialists are asking that similar messages be sent to: Mayor Richard Berkley, City Hall, Twelfth and Oak Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64106; and to Commissioner Edward Cavanaugh, Board of Police Commissioners, Police Building, Twelfth and Charlotte Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64106.

Defend miner's right to her own opinion

Charleston socialists answer media smear

By Harry Ring

The Socialist Workers Party has come under red-baiting attack by the Charleston, West Virginia, *Daily Mail*.

Charleston sits in an important coal-mining area. Many miners will undoubtedly be interested in the newly established SWP branch there. Especially since the miners themselves have been under continuing employer-government attack.

But the new SWP branch is apparent-

from the coal operators whom it can safely be assumed are not without influence with a paper like the *Mail*. Or from interested U.S. government officials. Maybe both.

At any rate, the February 10 *Mail* featured a scurrilous editorial attack on Bustin and the SWP.

The editorial stated that, while Bustin argued she was being harassed solely for her political beliefs, the editors felt moved to advise that these beliefs included, "a belief in the violent overthrow of the Constitutional government of the United States."

The editorial quite bluntly stated its central concern:

"Of some 1,800 members of the SWP and the related Young Socialist Alliance, 1,200 are now working in American industry. That leaves 1,199 besides Ms. Bustin."

The February 17 *Daily Mail* published a letter from Chris Horner, chairperson of the Charleston SWP, responding to the editorial.

Horner cited the fact that, after a forty-year FBI investigation, the SWP has never been found guilty of violence or other illegal acts.

"What's really at issue," Horner explained, "is the right of the American people to hold ideas the government doesn't like, such as opposition to the draft, new Vietnams, Ku Klux Klan terror, and nuclear power, or support for the Equal Rights Amendment and the rights of unions."

The *Daily Mail* responded with another editorial in the same issue in which it printed Horner's letter.

The editorial noted that the SWP's "philosophical father" was Leon Trotsky "who, with Nikolai [sic] Lenin, plotted the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution."

It argued that the SWP has never "repudiated the Trotskyite doctrine of violent revolution" and asserted, "It is in keeping with SWP strategy that the party scrupulously avoid criminal activities at present. But the party is nonetheless composed of revolutionaries who happen not yet to have revolted."

Since the party is committed to revolutionary change, the paper declared, "The authorities would be remiss if they

failed to keep a close watch on Ms. Bustin, Mr. Horner, and their fellows."

Horner addressed another letter to the *Daily Mail* February 23 which makes some cogent points.

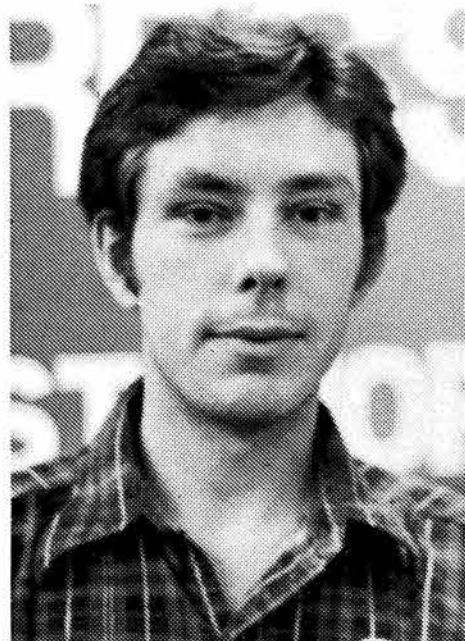
It defends the right to revolution, reminding the *Mail* editors that 200 years ago American workers and farmers founded this nation through a revolution.

Horner rebuts the oft-repeated right-wing argument that the Russian revolution was a "plot," pointing out that, like the American revolution, "it was made

by a large majority of the nation's workers and farmers."

Citing the deep-going social crisis which grips this country, Horner explains that it is precisely because socialists are presenting the working class with meaningful answers that the government is trying to silence us.

We don't know if the *Daily Mail* will consider it profitable to continue the debate. Despite its FBI-type smears, its readers have gotten some idea of what the SWP actually stands for. And, for sure, they know the socialists are in town.



Militant/Tuesdai Taylor

CHRIS HORNER

ly upsetting to the editors of the *Daily Mail* and, no doubt, to the area's coal operators.

The issue came to the fore when the February 8 *Sunday Gazette-Mail* published an Associated Press article about Marian Bustin. Bustin is a coal miner who lives in Morgantown, West Virginia. An immigrant from Scotland, she has been investigated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for possible deportation. This was done on the sole basis of her membership in the SWP.

The AP story carried by the *Gazette-Mail* was a reasonably straight-forward account of the Bustin case.

This must have drawn flack. Perhaps

Judge refuses to dismiss suit on FBI/Klan thug

By Nelson Blackstock

A federal judge in Detroit refused February 25 to throw out a \$2 million suit charging the FBI with responsibility for the death of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in 1965. Liuzzo's children brought the suit.

Gary Thomas Rowe, FBI informer and Ku Klux Klansman, was indicted for the murder by an Alabama court in 1978.

At the hearing the government refused on the grounds of executive privilege to turn over a 302-page FBI report on Rowe's actions while employed by the bureau. Rowe received \$12,000 from the FBI between 1960 and 1965.

Judge Charles Joiner said he will study the report. If he finds that it contains information essential to the case and the government still refuses to release it, he will award damages to the Liuzzos.

"When Government claims the right to refuse information as to its conduct on the theory that harm would come to its efforts to protect society, that same society can recompense plaintiffs for their injuries," the judge wrote.

Judge Joiner had earlier refused a government request to throw out the

suit on the ground that the family had waited too long to file.

Last year the government released a summary of the report, claiming that it cleared the FBI of any responsibility for the killing.

Details of the report leaked to the press revealed that Rowe had veto power over all acts of violence in Birmingham at the time of the notorious church bombing that took the lives of four little girls in 1963.

The report also showed that the FBI blocked prosecution of the four who carried out the bombing. One of them later went to work as an FBI informer.

Rowe was riding with three other KKKers in a car from which the shot was fired that killed Liuzzo. Afterwards, Rowe said the other three were responsible. Although they were indicted for the murder, none of the three were convicted. They were, however, convicted and served time for violating federal civil rights laws. The two still alive have identified Rowe as the one who pulled the trigger.

Internal FBI memos show that after the killing, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover accused Liuzzo of engaging in a "necking party" with a Black youth when she was murdered. She was driving him home after the completion of the famous Selma to Montgomery march.

'Free speech'—neither free nor inexpensive

By Harry Ring

Some skeptic once observed that, in this country, you're free to think whatever you want—as long as you don't talk about it.

That may be a bit of an exaggeration, but it's not totally off the wall.

agencies will go to try to shut us up.

But it's becoming clear that their concern over what we have to say has increased significantly now that we are making headway in winning a hearing for socialist ideas within the organized workers movement.

Like us, the capitalist rulers recognize the deep-going, permanent character of the present social crisis. And, like us, they recognize that the only ones capable of leading in a progressive resolution of that crisis are the organized industrial workers. And, again like us, they recognize that such a resolution by the workers means the end of the capitalist system, which is the root source of the difficulties.

That's why, for instance, the Charleston *Daily Mail*, in its lying, perverted way, explains that the SWP is out to see to it that the 'industrial proletariat' is sufficiently 'educated.' (See story above.)

And that's why it warns that a majority of SWP and YSA members "are now working in American industry."

In his February 23 letter to the *Mail*,

Charleston SWP chairperson Chris Horner lays it out plainly.

"Far from plotting behind the backs of American working people," he writes, "the SWP and YSA state our ideas for all to read in our newspapers, the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*."

"We are revolutionaries, and we are Marxists. We have the right to hold and advocate our ideas openly in front of the American people, free from FBI spying and disruption."

"These are the ideas that will go to

trial . . . in the SWP and YSA's \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and Immigration and Naturalization Service."

It would have been good if Horner had been able to add one important point. To defend our right to free speech and to reach workers with our ideas takes an awful lot of \$\$\$\$. And that, good reader, is where you come in. Have you sent a contribution to our \$75,000 Socialist fund? If not, please do it today. Just clip the coupon below.

**\$75,000
Socialist Fund**

People can and do get in trouble for saying what they think. Especially if they insist on saying it to those the powers-that-be consider to be the wrong people.

For instance, the government has never made it easy for socialists to say what they think. In fact, the revelations stemming from pretrial proceedings in the Socialist Workers Party suit against the government show the astonishing lengths to which federal

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Miners answer th

By Stu Singer

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—About a month before the expiration of the Bituminous Coal Contract the companies distributed a propaganda package to every United Mine Workers member in the United States.

It caused strong reaction.

"People looked at it, read some, got mad, and tore it up. It was lying around the floor. Everybody read a little. Some read the whole thing. Everybody was mad."

This is how Phil Scott, a miner from northern West Virginia, described the gray, twenty-page pamphlet with a very long title: "UMWA-National Agreement—Coal: Today's Reality vs. Tomorrow's Promise, a presentation by the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association." It is dated January 23, 1981.

Phil Scott said he almost stopped reading on page 1. That's where the companies subtly remind the miners: "Over 20,000 miners are laid off. Many mines are closed. . . . The American economy suffered a severe slump in 1980 and there are no reliable indicators that we can expect much of a recovery in 1981."

"Autos, and the steel from which they are made, have been particularly hard hit. Chrysler, as we all know, is fighting for its life. . . ."

"I hope they don't expect us to take a pay cut and help them build new facilities. That Chrysler thing turned me off right away," Scott said. "Other miners didn't have any trouble getting the message either."

For the coal companies to point to their weak brothers at Chrysler Corporation is a joke and the miners know it.

"The biggest mine owners are the oil companies. And they're making plenty of money," Rich Poling, another miner, told me.

Phil Scott and Rich Poling, who were interviewed by the 'Militant' for this article, both work at Martinka #1 Mine in Fairmont, West Virginia. They are members of UMWA Local 1949.

And he's right. The oil companies are getting bigger and bigger shares of coal, and their profits are skyrocketing. Of the top fifteen coal producers those owned by oil companies produce 34 percent of the coal.

Get rich from black lung

Some miners I talked with had read the whole gray book. They said what got them the maddest was about pensions and black lung benefits.

On page 17 the companies explain that a West Virginia miner who retires and gets black lung benefits would make \$27,927 a year, "or 157 percent of his income after taxes while working."

It's a damn lie.

And it isn't the first time the operators floated this story. Although, like other fish stories, the amount keeps getting bigger.

The January and February issues of the *United Mine Workers Journal* have a series of articles by staff writer Mike Hall defending the black lung benefits program against attacks from company doctors.

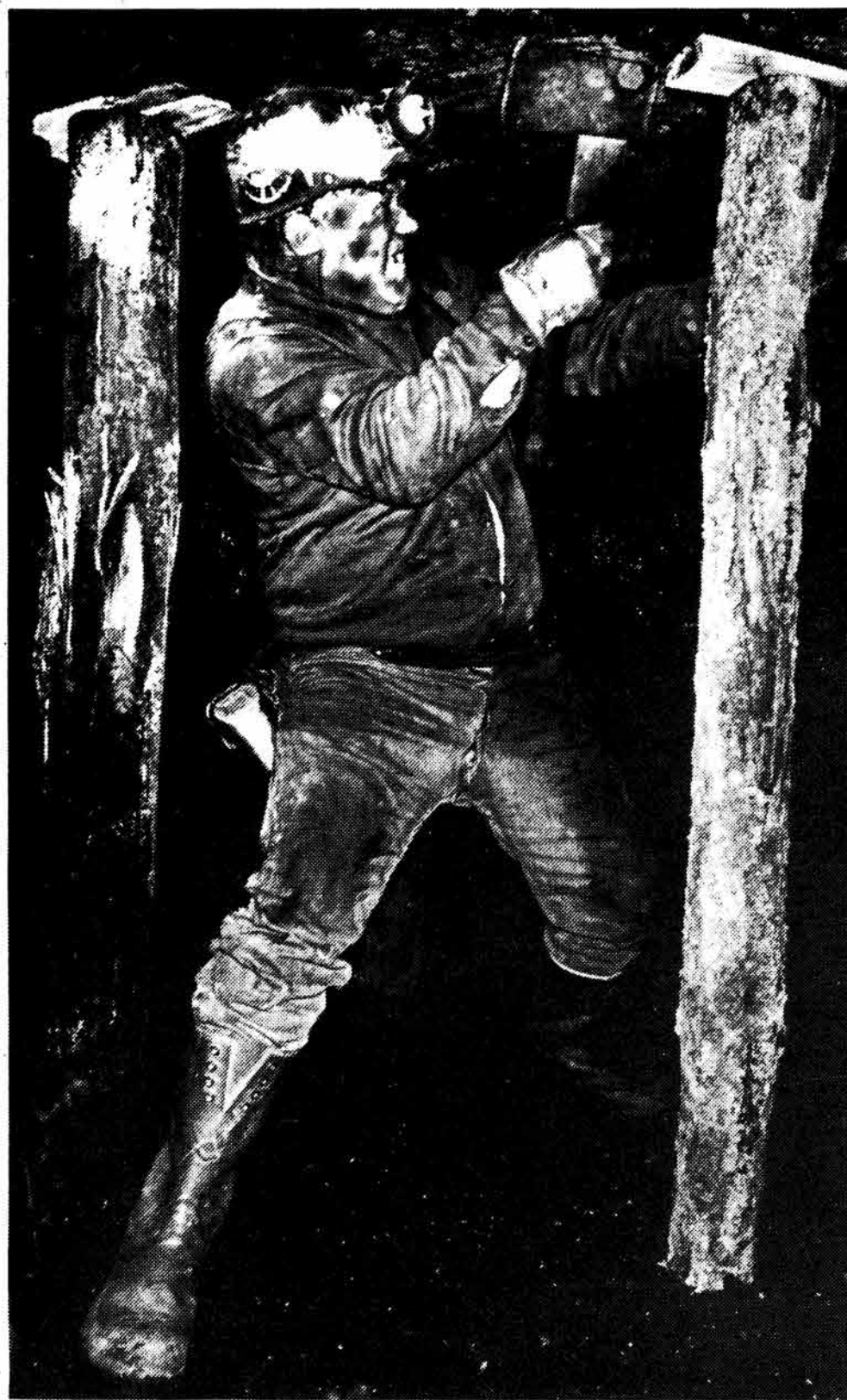
Dr. W.K.C. Morgan wrote an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* last year claiming that miners suffer lung damage from smoking too many cigarettes, not from breathing coal dust. He calls for gutting or eliminating the black lung program.

Morgan told the other doctors, none of whom lack concern for their own pay and pension benefits, that miners abuse the black lung program.

"A sixty-two-year-old single miner from Pennsylvania who qualifies for black lung benefits . . . [has] an annual income of \$20,530," Morgan claimed, "and only his pension is taxable. The annual wage under the 1978 contract is \$18,500."

Morgan then modestly quotes the bible, suggesting that "Congress has clearly proved the psalmist wrong; clearly the rewards of idleness exceed those of work."

The medical establishment was so



Earl Dotter

By William Gottlieb

In a special economic report to Congress February 18, President Reagan proposed massive cuts in spending for social services, big increases in the arms budget, and tax cuts for the rich. He proclaimed a crusade against "regulation"—meaning measures that limit big business's power to endanger workers' health and safety and pollute the environment.

Totaling about \$45 billion, reductions hit Social Security, food stamps, unemployment insurance, mass transportation, education, school lunches, welfare, Medicaid, black lung benefits for miners, and other programs.

Reagan proposed eliminating the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program, which provided job openings for thousands of Black youth. This, despite his "work-not-welfare" demagoguery.

State cutbacks, too

Federal cutbacks are intended to have a multiplier effect at the state, county, and municipal levels. Increased depreciation allowances for big business will mean reduced revenues for states, nearly all of which use these allowances to compute corporate taxes. Together with Reagan's proposed emphasis on shifting social programs to the states, this will allow state and local governments to claim they, too, must cut back sharply.

Reagan's proposed budget means a deteriorating living standard and quality of life for all working people.

The AFL-CIO summed up the administration program as requiring "more sacrifice from those who have little, to give more to those who already have too much."

Deep and damaging as the proposed

cuts are, they are only the beginning of what the employers and their government have in store.

To carry out their program, however, they need to change workers' conception of our rights. So Reagan's speech was also part of an ideological offensive which has this end in mind.

Capitalism has not failed, he insisted. He called for "confidence in a system which has never failed us—but which we have failed through lack of confidence."

Reagan boldly implied that the government must not be used to improve things for working people, but only to help big business rake it in. "It [taxing power] must not be used to regulate the economy or bring about social change," he said.

The decades since the 1930s have convinced workers that the opposite is true. They believe government ought to guarantee jobs, decent wages, secure pensions, better housing, education, and equality for all.

Is crisis our fault?

Today all shades of procapitalist opinion—from conservatives like Reagan to moderates like former president Carter to liberals like Tom Hayden—are uniting to convince us this is not true; that government has done too much for working people, and we must now give up our expectations.

Working people caused the economic crisis, they say, by winning the minimum wage, escalator clauses, some medical care, and pensions, and by insisting on safer workplaces and a cleaner environment.

These claims ignore the fact that capitalism was wracked by periodic crises long before present-day social service programs and government regulation of

big business. One example was the depression of the 1930s, the most ruinous to date.

As part of the ideological campaign, the Reagan administration is putting forward a theory called "supply-side economics." "Supply-siders" argue inflation is caused by too much demand for goods relative to supply. The supply, they say, is limited because taxes and social programs have reduced business's incentive to invest.

Shifting the distribution of national income sharply in favor of the rich, supply-siders predict, will eliminate excess demand, create jobs, and increase production. The increased supply of goods, they say, will reduce inflation and ultimately raise living standards for all.

Supply-side fallacy

But inflation, which has been gaining steam throughout the American and world capitalist economy since the late 1960s, is not caused by too much demand relative to supply.

On the contrary, supply has shown an alarming tendency to exceed demand. This has expressed itself in three recessions in just ten years, as well as in the

huge numbers of idle plants and massive unemployment that persist even during periods of economic upswing.

In January 1981, for example, the government itself reported that 20 percent of U.S. industrial capacity lay idle due to insufficient demand. Not since the pe-



Reagan's blaming working people for failure of capitalism

lies in coal companies' 'gray book'

cared by the specter of miners making decent living when they retire that they editorially endorsed Morgan's es.

But the *UMWA Journal* pursued the question. They called Morgan to get the name of any miner getting that big pension. Morgan said that an attorney for Bethlehem Steel, a major coal company, had told him about it.

The *UMWA* writer then contacted Bethlehem. They said it was not unusual for retired miners to get over 20,000, and they promised to provide examples.

A month later they told the union that they would not provide examples. But, they assured, "many" people get that much.

The *UMWA Journal* did its own calculations. "If all maximum figures are used, the highest black lung award, the maximum *UMWA* pension and 400 Social Security retirement income, that adds up to \$16,548 a year. . . . More reasonable figures add up to \$13,735 a year.

"But even that so-called lower figure is more than most retired miners actually receive after decades of toiling underground, risking life and health."

Miners know the truth about pensions. Most retired miners live in poverty. They can't keep up with inflation. They have to fight, scrape, and pressure to get any of the benefits they are entitled to, especially black lung. And benefits or not, black lung is killing them by the tens of thousands. It is incurable.

Rich Poling said, "The young miners respect the old ones; they built the union, fought together for what we have now. It's our obligation to fight for them. These company lies get every miner I know mad as hell."

Safety

"I don't like that part about 'there is more than enough safety,'" Poling said. He was referring to page 19. The companies claim, "The *UMWA*-National Agreement and the Federal Mine Safety and Health Act and regu-

lations issued under that act contain more than enough provisions on safety and health." This follows a sentence that says "Safety, productivity, and cost effectiveness should go hand in hand."

But they don't.

Phil Scott gave an example.

"When you get to an area where it looks like the roof is about to fall, you stop. If the boss wants you to go on, you call for a safety committeeman. The way it works the bosses are supposed to get him. They call up. But then they tell you to keep working until he gets there. If we wanted to keep working we wouldn't have stopped in

the first place. Safety is a big part of mining."

1969 Mine Safety Law

Company figures in their gray book say that mine fatalities have gone down dramatically since 1969. That is true. But the companies don't mention why.

It took a gigantic effort by coal miners to force the West Virginia legislature and the U.S. Congress to pass watered-down versions of the safety and health laws miners needed. It took the outrage over the death of seventy-eight miners in the Consol mine disaster at Farmington, West Virginia, in

November 1968 to finally push the law through. The companies fought it every inch of the way, as did the reactionary company man who was union president then, Tony Boyle.

The company gray book fails to report the different safety records between union and nonunion mines and that it's the union safety committees which forced compliance with the laws.

Injuries and medical care

But there is also another side. While fatalities are down, the continued push for productivity and some training provisions lost in the last contract have resulted in increased disabling injuries. In about the same period of time that fatalities declined from 1.03 per million work hours to 0.34 (from 1969 to 1979), disabling injuries increased from 48.41 to 50.47 (in 1978).

The gray book is effusive about how well paid miners are and what great benefits they have.

Miners have won some important medical benefits in the past, although they have been cut back since the last contract. They are not as great as the companies pretend.

For example, Phil Scott pointed out, "We have no dental coverage, so if you get hit in the mouth by something, you are not covered as if you were hit in the arm. That shows what the companies think of us."

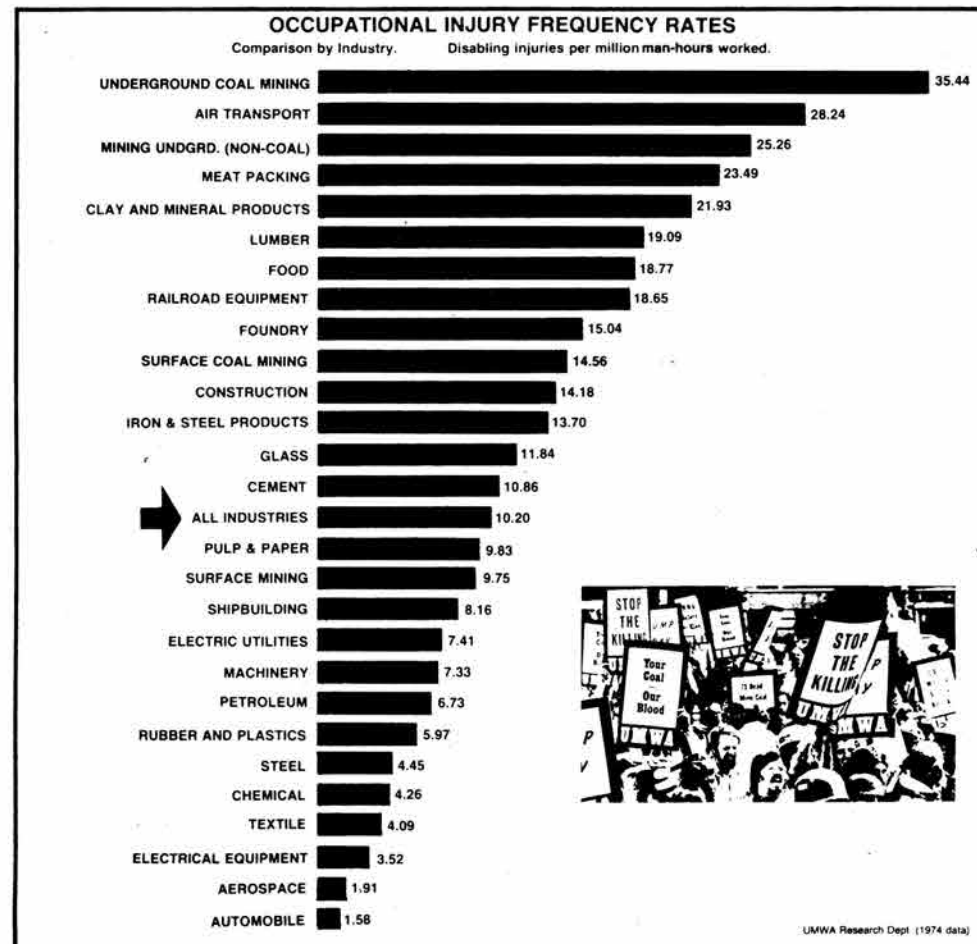
Overpaid?

The companies' booklet has charts pretending to show that miners' average hourly income is increasing faster than inflation.

But according to the *UMWA* bargaining bulletin dated February 2, 1981, "By the time the contract expires, the consumer price index will actually have grown some 40%. The two 70-cent-per-hour wage increases during that time increased wages only an average of 16.5%."

The companies also claim that

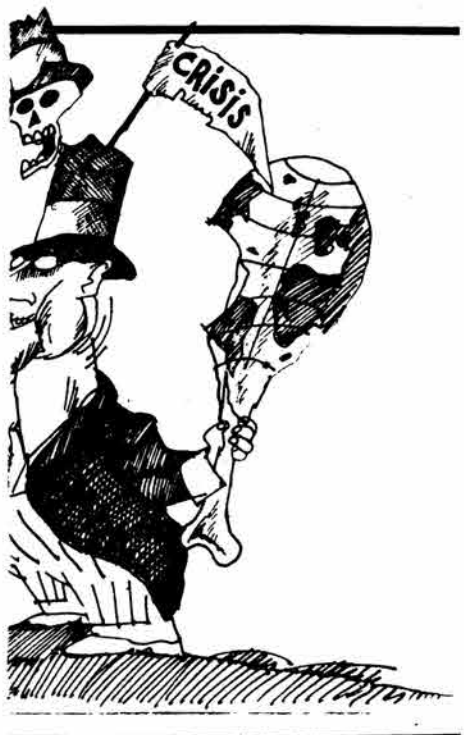
Continued on page 17



Coal operators want to lengthen top line.

period of the rapid escalation of the Vietnam War in 1965-1966 has demand put in serious pressure on supply.

The real problem has been that the productive capacity of American and world industry greatly exceeds the purchasing power of the great mass of people.



budget: makers for capitalism

ple. So corporations find it less profitable to invest. Instead of letting workers produce, they lay them off and shut plants down.

The real obstacle to increasing supply under capitalism is the gap between the massive needs of the people of the world, their limited purchasing power in class-divided capitalist society, and the profit needs of the capitalists.

Consumer goods

Just like earlier "New Deal" and "Great Society" programs, and contrary to its own propaganda, the Reagan administration is counting on federal deficits to maintain or increase demand. The administration proposes deficits of \$122 billion over the next three fiscal years. Reagan's budget, like those of his predecessors, is inflationary.

By increasing government purchases of armaments and the demand by business for capital goods, big business hopes a new economic boom will develop.

This involves a contradiction. A long-term capitalist economic expansion ultimately depends on rising demand for consumer goods. As the consumer goods industries expand to meet rising demand, they provide markets for the capital goods industries.

The attempt to further reduce the living standard of workers and farmers undermines the vital consumer market.

This does not exclude a short-term boom based on increased purchases of luxury items by the rich, war spending by the government, and the internal dynamic of the capitalist business cycle.

However, this will not solve the problems of American and world capitalism. Even a temporary boom would only prepare the way for sharper economic crises.

Whatever the Reagans, Carters, and Haydens say, it is the system that is at fault, not workers. The basic contradictions of capitalism—which neither deficit spending nor tight money, liberal "demand-side" nor conservative "supply-side" economics even touch—will continue to produce deepening crises and breakdowns.

There are those who doubt the drive to make workers surrender their expectations for a decent life will succeed. Some fear the consequences.

Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wisc.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, expressed such concern. "The largest budget cuts fall very heavily on those on the margin of poverty," Reuss said. "By contrast, the largest tax cuts are those being given to the very affluent. The question is whether our social fabric can stand such a redistribution from the have-nots to the haves."

The same concern was expressed by union bureaucrats. President William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists stated this view most succinctly.

"Reagan," Winpisinger said, "has proposed deep and arbitrary cuts in a lot of things that have provided the consensus by which this country is held together, and unless Congress fine-tunes it very judiciously he has almost inexorably set in motion a chain of events which ultimately would erupt into a war in the streets in this country."

A better idea

Speaking for big business, the *New York Times* tried to answer doubters by declaring in a February 19 editorial that "No one else has a better idea" than Reagan's.

This is false. Labor has better ideas, and has had them for a long time. They

are the product of decades of experience. They emerge with new force at each rise of the class struggle.

They include the need to take the money from the war budget and use it to preserve and expand social services, education, health, mass transportation, and housing. Labor has no interest in arming Washington for new Vietnams or a nuclear holocaust.

The demands of labor include a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all; for cost-of-living clauses in all wages, salaries, pensions, unemployment benefits, and welfare; for an end to all discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, and women; for lifting the tax burden from workers' shoulders and putting it on the rich; for the right of workers to shut down unsafe operations; for an end to government secrecy; and other demands.

Most unions today express support for some or even most of these points. More and more workers are considering all of them. Yet American labor is without a party to forward its answer to the crisis.

The Republican and Democratic politicians today offer nothing more than variations on Reagan's program. Labor's political disarmament is the biggest advantage big business has in the fight over budget cuts and other anti-worker moves.

Labor needs its own party, based on the unions, to fight for its program in the political arena.

At the heart of labor's program for today is recognition that workers are not responsible for the crisis of capitalism and should not have to pay for it. In contrast to Reagan, growing numbers of workers will be deciding in the next months and years that if this system cannot provide a decent life for working people, then let it be replaced by a better one.

PENTAGON LIARS CAN FIGURE

Soviet arms 'lead' strictly a fake

By Will Reissner

When President Ronald Reagan addressed both houses of the U.S. Congress on February 18 to lay out his economic program, his nationally televised speech called for sharp cuts in all areas of federal spending except for the military. As Reagan told the assembled members of Congress, the Department of Defense is "the only department in our entire program that will actually be increased over the present budgeted figure."

To justify his call for a sharp increase in arms spending while slashing social expenditures by \$41.4 billion, Reagan resorted to an old theme—we've got to catch up with the Russians.

According to the new president, "since 1970 the Soviet Union has invested \$300 billion more in its military forces than we have. As a result of its massive military buildup, the Soviets have made a significant numerical advantage in strategic nuclear delivery systems, tactical aircraft, submarines, artillery and anti-aircraft defense. To allow this imbalance to continue is a threat to our national security."

Old wine, new bottles

This propaganda campaign, which tries to portray the United States military as a pygmy about to be swamped by the Soviet juggernaut, has been echoed uncritically in the entire U.S. mass media. It is always easier to sell big arms programs and military interventions abroad if they are portrayed as defensive moves.

But the fact is that Washington has introduced every major new weapons system since the Second World War. Washington produced:

- the first atomic bomb in 1945;
- the first intercontinental bomber in 1948;
- the first hydrogen bomb in 1954;
- the first nuclear submarine in 1954;
- the first submarine-launched ballistic missile in 1960;
- the first multiple independently targeted warhead (MIRV) in 1970.

Each time a new system was introduced, it was claimed that the Pentagon was simply catching up with the Soviets.

Nonexistent gaps

In 1956, American working people were warned that there was a "bomber gap." In 1960, President John F. Kennedy campaigned for office on the basis of a supposed "missile gap."

In 1967 the specter was raised of an "antiballistic missiles gap."

But, as Michael Parenti of the Institute for Policy Studies explained in the July 1980 issue of *The Progressive* magazine, "in each instance, it was subsequently discovered that no such gap existed and that U.S. capabilities were superior to the Soviet Union's." (Emphasis added.)

In 1975, the Department of Defense began warning of a new "gap." This time it was claiming that the U.S. was falling behind the Soviets in developing MIRVs—multiple independently targeted nuclear warheads that are

mounted on a single missile. But the MIRV "gap" was simply more of the same.

Even as the Pentagon was issuing its dire warnings about the MIRVs, defense analyst James McCartney calmly noted that "the United States has had MIRVs for years. It has hundreds of them ready to use, while the Soviets are just getting them."

How much truth is there in Reagan's assertion that the Soviet Union has been outspending the U.S. on arms for a decade? None at all! According to its own figures, between 1970 and 1979, the U.S. government has spent \$1,048,700,000,000 on the military. For those who have trouble counting zeros, that comes to over one trillion dollars.

Is it credible that the Soviet Union, with an economy that is only two-thirds the size of the U.S. economy, not only matched that rate, but exceeded it by \$300 billion? Just on the face of it, the Soviet Union would face a big strain simply matching U.S. spending, much less spending 29 percent more.

But there is an old maxim that anything can be proven with statistics. And the CIA's figures on Soviet military spending, which Reagan used to push his claim that the Soviets are outspending the U.S., are a case in point.

Change in accounting

If the figures do not support the charge that the Soviets outspend the U.S., the best thing to do is to change the way arms spending is calculated, and that is precisely what the CIA recently did.

A detailed analysis of the CIA's method of calculating Soviet arms spending was made by Franklyn D. Holzman of Tufts University. It appeared in the June 1980 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

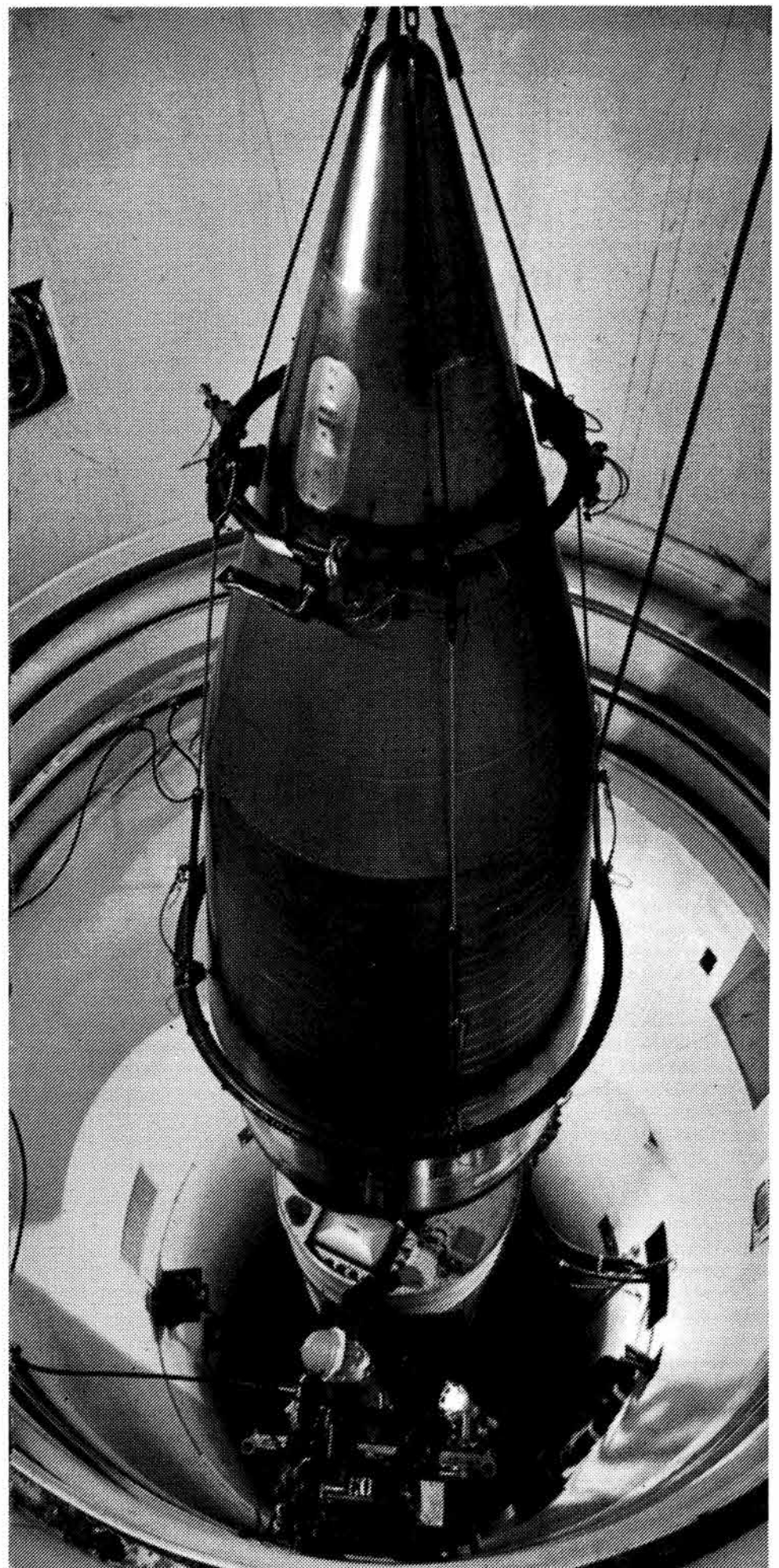
In the past, the CIA compared what the U.S. actually spent on arms, in dollars in the U.S., with what the Soviet Union spent, in rubles in the USSR. By that method of figuring, which is the most accurate as we shall see, the Soviet Union spends only 60 to 70 percent of what the Pentagon spends.

But since that cuts across the "catch up with the Russians" theme, the CIA retroactively changed the way it computes Soviet spending. The CIA went back and recomputed Soviet expenditures on a totally different basis; it compared how much the U.S. actually spends, in dollars in the United States, with what the Soviets would spend if they also purchased everything in dollars in the United States.

That simple change suddenly made it appear that the Soviets had been spending up to 44 percent more on arms annually than the U.S. This method, which is fundamentally flawed, maximizes apparent Soviet spending while minimizing U.S. spending.

What's wrong with method

Each government structures its armed forces to take maximum advantage of the strengths of its own economy and to minimize reliance on its



U.S. Intercontinental Ballistic Missile

economy's weaknesses. Each side maximizes use of resources and technology that are readily available in its own country, while minimizing the use of resources or technical methods that are in short supply or excessively expensive.

To concretely understand how the CIA's method skews the figures, let's imagine a hypothetical comparison that has nothing to do with weapons. Suppose the minister of housing of Saudi Arabia wanted to compare the cost of building a five-room house in Saudi Arabia and a five-room house in heavily wooded Siberia. In Siberia, of course, the house would be constructed of wood, the available local material.

If our Saudi Arabian housing minister computed what it would cost to build the Siberian wood house in the Saudi Arabian desert, the cost would appear very high because the basic construction material (wood) would have to be entirely imported.

The proper comparison, of course, would be to compare the cost of a five-room wood house in Siberia with the cost of a five-room brick or adobe house in Saudi Arabia, because each country would build its housing using materials that are locally abundant.

But the CIA uses the first method precisely because it maximizes Soviet costs while minimizing U.S.

The CIA further skews the compari-

son by using different methods to determine the effects of U.S. and Soviet improvements in weapons.

For example, when the U.S. replaced the \$65,000 Maverick missile with the more effective \$25,000 Wasp missile, the CIA figured that U.S. arms spending per missile had declined by \$40,000.

But when the Soviets make the same kind of substitution, replacing missile "A" with the cheaper (but 30 percent more effective) missile "B," the CIA figures that since the new missile is 30 percent more effective, its costs will be calculated as 30 percent higher than the missile it replaced.

In other words, when, in military parlance, the U.S. gets "more bang for the buck," U.S. spending figures go down, while the same change makes Soviet spending go up.

The CIA, and Reagan, also conveniently ignore the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are each members of a military pact. But in 1978, for example, the U.S. allies in NATO spent \$75 billion on defense, while the Soviet Union's allies in the Warsaw Pact spent only \$12 billion. Shouldn't those contributions be taken into the equation?

Selective list

After making his false claim that the Soviets outspend the Pentagon, Rea-

gan went on to catalog a highly selective list of areas where the Soviets are "ahead" of the U.S. Let's look at some of them more closely.

According to Reagan, "the Soviets have made a significant numerical advantage in strategic nuclear delivery systems," meaning, in plain English, that the Soviets have more nuclear-armed missiles and bombers than the U.S.

This claim is distortion for two reasons. First, it ignores the fact that Britain and France, both NATO allies of the U.S., have their own nuclear missiles and bombers aimed at the Soviet Union, which Reagan does not include in his total.

But more importantly, it pinpoints the delivery system without taking into account the number of nuclear warheads that can be delivered. The Soviet Union, it is true, has more nuclear-armed bombers and missiles than the U.S. (2,504 compared to 2,058). But the U.S. delivery systems are equipped with more than 9,200 warheads, while the Soviet Union has 6,000. Again, these figures do not take into account the British and French warhead totals.

Furthermore, while no Soviet nuclear bombers can reach the U.S., the U.S. Air Force has hundreds of bombers in Western Europe that can hit the main cities of the Soviet Union.

In addition, the U.S. has already announced plans to place an additional 572 missiles in Western Europe that are capable of hitting Soviet cities.

Reagan also cynically points to the Soviet Union's more sophisticated air defense systems as proof that U.S. military spending must rise. But this is a totally spurious argument! No matter how much money the Pentagon is given, it would not spend that money on air defense systems simply because the Soviets have no planes that can reach the U.S.!

U.S. bombers can hit the Soviet Union, so the Soviets build anti-aircraft defenses. Soviet bombers cannot hit the U.S., so the U.S. does not build them. Hardly an argument for catching up with the Russians.

Naval gap?

Reagan also charged that the Soviets are ahead of the U.S. Navy in submarines. Again, he makes a very selective choice. Why not compare, for example, aircraft carriers? The U.S. Navy presently has 13 of those giants. The Soviet Navy has a grand total of two carriers, less than the number in either the British or French navies.

Why not compare the total naval strength of the NATO countries versus the Warsaw Pact countries? The figures are readily available. When I went to the *Stateman's Review* and added up the naval fleets of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact countries, I found that NATO has over 3,000 ships, while the Warsaw Pact has less than 1,500. But Reagan does not use these easily accessible figures because they would cut across the argument that the U.S. needs to engage in a massive shipbuilding program to "catch up" with the Soviet Navy.

This kind of sleight of hand is often seen in media coverage of arms spending. For example, the February 16, 1981, issue of *U.S. News & World Report* gravely warned that "Russia's Navy, once weak, is now mounting a formidable challenge to America's power on the high seas." The article states that "today Russia has about 800 ships, and the U.S. Navy has dwindled from a force of roughly 900 ships in the Vietnam War era to about 460 ships."

U.S. News ignores the relative size and firepower of the ships in the two navies. In this respect U.S. forces continue to have a commanding lead. *U.S. News* also skips over the fact that the Soviet Navy performs functions that are carried out in the U.S. military system by the Coast Guard.

I called the Coast Guard public affairs department in New York. They told me that the Coast Guard has 280 ships. *U.S. News* could have made the same call if it had wanted to.

Therefore, even discounting the size of the navies of the allies of each power, a comparison of the size of the Soviet navy and U.S. navy and Coast Guard would bring the total number of ships in both to about 800 versus 740. Hardly a yawning chasm.

Why spending hike?

The U.S. military does not have to "catch up" with anyone. The big increases contemplated in the Reagan arms budget are offensive in character. Two of the biggest spending programs show that to be true.

More than \$17 billion are earmarked over the next five years for the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), a military force specifically designed to intervene abroad in defense of imperialist interests.

The primary targets of the RDF are the Middle East and the Central America and Caribbean region. Already the RDF has carried out practice invasions of both areas. The RDF is aimed against revolutionary struggles that threaten the profits of U.S. corporations, not against the mythical Soviet threat.

MX missiles

The second huge new program is the MX missile system.

The MX missile system, which could cost as much as \$106 billion, would be made up of between 200 and 275 missiles shuttled around underground between at least 4,600 shelters covering a large portion of the states of Utah and Nevada.

The purpose of building this system, together with the introduction of 572 new cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe (from which they could hit Soviet targets in as little as four minutes), is to maintain a U.S. first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union.

If the Reagan administration has its way, arms spending would soar to above \$1 trillion over the next five years while social services are slashed. War spending would rise from 24 percent of the federal budget in 1981 to 32 percent in the 1984 budget.

When Reagan presented his budget proposals to congress, they were met by what the *New York Times* described as a "thunderous" ovation. The reaction of American working people, as the cuts begin to be felt, will not be to applaud. But it may well be thunderous.

From Intercontinental Press

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U.S. unionists: 'Free the Brazilian workers leaders'

By Steve Bride

A Brazilian military tribunal has tried, convicted, and jailed workers' leader Luís Inácio da Silva ("Lula") and ten others. The court managed all this in less than forty-eight hours, in a trial closed to all international observers.

The trial was held on twenty-four hours' notice, presumably to minimize the number of international observers the military would have to turn away at the door. Sentences for the eleven (two others were found innocent) ranged from two to three-and-a-half years.

This, for the "crime" of leading a strike.

The defendants were all leaders of a strike of 150,000 metalworkers in Brazil last April and May.

Of more immediate concern to dictator João Baptista de Figueiredo, however, was the fact that many—Lula best known among them—were also leaders of the Workers Party (PT).

Founded in the wake of the strike, the PT was originally based on the large industrial unions of São Paulo and other cities in southern Brazil. Today, though, it has committees throughout the country, and will field candidates for the 1982 elections. Lula himself, a recent poll showed, is running second in the race for governor of the state of São Paulo.

That is one reason why, in addition to jailing them, the government also barred the defendants from ever holding political or union office.

Another is that earlier attempts to stop the PT had not worked all that well. Terror attacks—in which the military was implicated by congressional deputies—claimed the life of at least one PT leader. PT headquarters in São Paulo, Jundiaí, Campo Grande, and other cities were vandalized or bombed. Still, the PT continued to grow.

So Figueiredo moved to the trial. Reaction to it came fast.

From the United States, William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), fired off a telegram to the regime condemning its "suppression of Brazilian workers' basic human rights." If Lula and the others were not released, Winpisinger warned, the "international labor move-

ment will have to consider taking serious concrete measures" to protest the action.

And representatives of the United Auto Workers and United Food and Commercial Workers, who arrived in Brazil from the United States too late for the trial, have indicated that they may remain in Brazil for the appeal. That is set for March 11.

Warnings of another sort came from a section of the U.S. capitalist class. In a February 23, 1981, editorial, the *New York Times* cautioned Figueiredo that he risks "an explosion" if he "ignores the lessons of Gdansk" and jails Lula, whom the *Times* called Brazil's Lech Walesa.

With Lula's return to Brazil on February 13, following a tour of Europe and the United States, the stage was set for their trial.

On February 15, a crowd of 6,000 turned out for a defense rally in the São Paulo suburb of São Bernardo.

Alarmed by this, and by recent revelations of torture carried out by the military in the early 1970s, the regime on February 19 went so far as to detain Argentinian Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel. The latter was in Brazil speaking out in favor of reparations for torture victims.

Pérez Esquivel was later released after protesters had rallied in front of police headquarters.

It was in this atmosphere that the trial, which had earlier been postponed indefinitely, was rescheduled for February 25.

Sensing that the government was less than sincere about giving them a fair hearing, the defendants and their lawyers boycotted the proceedings. The eleven who were convicted presented themselves the next day at government security offices. There, they were to sign papers that would allow them to remain free pending appeal.

But the judge who was to cosign those papers was allegedly on vacation and therefore unavailable. So Lula and the rest went to jail.

This move is an attack on the entire Brazilian labor movement. To win their freedom and a lifting of the sentences, Lula and his comrades need the broadest possible international solidarity.

From Intercontinental Press

...gray book

Continued from page 15

UMWA miners are paid 63 percent more than the average for other workers. It's a false comparison. Unionized steel, auto, construction, trucking, rail, and refinery workers all make more than coal miners. Figures don't lie but company liars can afford to print their figures in hundreds of thousands of gray booklets.

Productivity

Another focus of the gray book is productivity. The operators claim that high wages have kept them from increasing productivity.

Their productivity claims are full of lies and distortions. In the first place even industry figures indicate that productivity in union mines in 1980 shot up 7.7 percent. Since they keep raising their prices also, this boost is pure profit.

There is a good explanation of productivity for the coal industry in a report prepared by the U.S. Congress Office of Technology Assessment. The report, called *The Direct Use of Coal*, was issued in April 1979. It points out, for example, that tonnage, employment figures, and the number of hours per shift are reported according to different criteria for each company. They can easily manipulate the reports to show productivity gains or declines. The improved environmental protec-

tion requirements for strip mine reclamation and the sulfur content for coal burned in power plants has lowered productivity. Companies have to devote time and money in meeting these standards.

Why does the gray book compare figures for productivity today with 1969?

That was the year the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act was passed. The results of that law were referred to earlier in the dramatic drop in mine fatalities. The improved safety measures did cut into productivity.

Union mines, where safety regulations are enforced, are safer than non-union mines. They may produce less coal per miner because of this, but that is only bad for the blood-thirsty coal companies. They are telling the miners, through this gray book, that profits come before the lungs and lives of coal miners.

The operators and their government are right now face to face with their most formidable opponent among unionized workers. A fight against the program contained in the gray book and Reagan's budget cuts of black lung benefits means a big class battle.

That is what the stakes are in the coming miners' contract. It is a fight affecting every miner and every working person.

"I hope they don't think they're going to impose a Chrysler settlement on us," Phil Scott said. "There's no way we'll take it."

Karolyn Kerry, who died on February 5, was a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party for forty-seven years.

Kerry spoke on a panel on women in labor history at the socialist educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, in August, 1974.

For her presentation, she drew upon her experiences as a participant in a broad range of labor battles during the 1930s. Following are major excerpts:

When I joined the party in 1934 it was called the Communist League of America. In December of that year a fusion between the CLA (the Trotskyists) and the American Workers Party led by A.J. Muste was concluded. The new organization was called the Workers Party.

If my memory serves me right, there were at that time in the San Francisco Bay Area a total of only three women in the party. Of course, the total party membership in the area was very small so the relationship was not as bad as it now sounds.

In San Francisco, two of our women comrades, Eloise Booth and Flo Wyle, were members of the "Ladies' Auxiliary" of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), and both participated actively in picketing on the waterfront. For this activity they were arrested by the police.

The "Ladies' Auxiliary" of the union. Today that sounds as though it was coined in the nineteenth century. But it wasn't really.

In fact, the idea was a militant and progressive concept that grew up as part of the innovative strike tactics of the new fighting industrial unions. It was introduced by the revolutionary socialists and communists active in the left wing of the AFL, and IWW [Industrial Workers of the World or "Wobblies"].

While the term "Ladies' Auxiliaries" has an odd sound to our ears today in the light of the rise of women's liberation, I can assure you there was nothing the social register would consider very "ladylike" about the conduct of these militant working women's battalions.

Waiters and Waitresses Union

About this time I had joined the Waiters and Waitresses Union in Oakland, one of the trades for which women were considered to be eminently qualified. After I had joined I succeeded in organizing the waitresses in a very posh residential hotel in the downtown section of Oakland.

This modest excursion into the field of union organizing gave me some small prestige in the relatively conservative AFL union to which I belonged. It was then I committed a tactical blunder which led to my expulsion as an advocate of "dual unionism." And thereon hangs a tale.

The workers in the Oakland shipyards, disgusted with the hopeless tangle of AFL overlapping and competing jurisdictions characteristic of ship construction work, had organized their own Independent Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

Headed by anti-Stalinist militants, some of them ex-Wobblies, they had incurred the hostility of the powerful Stalinist machine on the waterfront. They were literally the pariahs of the organized labor movement.

With all the cards stacked against them they went on strike for union recognition and for economic demands. It was at this stage that I stumbled into what was an obviously hopeless situation.

A strike meeting had been called and I had been assigned to go to the meeting to sell the *Militant* to the strikers. Once there, one of the strikers invited me in.

The main point on the agenda, of course, was strike organization and tactics. After the discussion had gone on for some time I raised my hand and was given the floor to have my say.

I spoke in favor of the shipyard workers doing some of the same things that the Teamsters in Minneapolis had

Women's role in labor history

Talk by Karolyn Kerry on 1930s organizing battles



There was nothing very 'ladylike' about conduct of Ladies Auxiliaries of 1930s, Kerry recalled. These militant women's battalions participated in and built support for organizing drives of auto workers, teamsters, longshoremen, and other unions.

done: namely, establishing a women's auxiliary organization, a soup kitchen for pickets, a defense organization, etc.

They were so impressed that they not only accepted all my proposals but then and there elected me to head the committee to carry them out. I suppose the lesson of that experience is to know when to keep your mouth shut.

At any rate, with the help of the party and with somewhat meager forces, we did what I then and still now consider a heroic job.

But nothing we did could help very much in the winning of the strike and the action petered out when more and more of the strikers were forced to return to work through sheer economic pressure or left the area to find jobs elsewhere. A few years later the union joined the CIO.

It was in connection with my strike support activity in the shipyard workers' struggle for recognition of their "independent" union that I came to be expelled from the AFL Waiters and Waitresses Union in Oakland for "dual unionism."

The officials of my local union knew about my activity but so long as I made no issue of it in the union they pretended they were ignorant of what was going on—until I introduced the subject at one of my union meetings.

Not content to let well enough alone I provoked them into invoking AFL "policy," which was to summarily expel anyone guilty of what they called "dual unionism."

At the time, it happened that I was working under what was then delicately dubbed my "maiden" name. Whereupon I adopted my "married"

name and joined the waitresses union across the bay in San Francisco.

The Workers Party, shortly after its formal establishment, decided to enter the Socialist Party. This entry lasted some eighteen months, from the summer of 1936 to the end of 1937, when the left wing of the SP was bureaucratically expelled and reconstituted itself as the Socialist Workers Party in January 1938.

Migrant farmworkers

Our fusion with the left wing of the SP was helpful in our work among the migrant farmworkers of California. I remember one strike of the pickers in Orange County where over 113 strikers were arrested and jailed for picketing the orange groves.

We were able to provide a lawyer from the SP, a man we had supported when he ran as a socialist candidate for public office in the city of Oakland.

In addition, because the Stalinists were courting "unity" with the SP in line with their People's Front policy, we had participated in carrying through a fusion of the SP and Communist Party unemployed organizations.

The new organization was called the Workers Alliance and several of our people became state officials of the unified organization and were able to use their positions to pressure the relief authorities to grant aid to the families of the striking agricultural workers.

One of the greatest handicaps in work among the migrant agricultural workers was the small number of socialist and union organizers who could speak Spanish, which at least in

Southern California was the first language of a majority of the migrant workers.

Where this block to communicating the political and organizational experience of our party did not exist our ideas soon won respect from the ranks. In one instance one of our women comrades who spoke Spanish was elected president of the Fish Cannery Local Union at the California Packing Corporation in San Diego.

Fish canneries

The canning industry proved to be an important area of work for our women members in the late 1930s in California.

We sent women comrades into the fish canneries in San Francisco, Monterey, San Pedro, and San Diego. The work was casual. You packed fish when there was fish to pack—it was as simple as that.

When the fishing boats came in with a catch, the factory whistles would blast away announcing the fact to all and sundry and that was the signal for the fish packers to turn to. You worked until the fish was packed, around the clock, if necessary, and then went home to wait for the next whistle.

In San Diego the plants also packed tuna which was more regularized and not nearly so haphazard. It was this more regular work force that gave the union a stronger hold and helped to explain the election of a Trotskyist as president of the local union.

The election of a woman president was quite unusual in those days—and still is for that matter.

This experience in the San Diego fish canneries points up something that I also observed in my work in the culinary trade in San Francisco.

While the run-of-the-mill male union leaders were usually indifferent to women's rights, once organized, a predominantly female union would begin to raise demands of its own that were not typical of other more heavily male locals.

In San Francisco, for example, the waitresses union was one of the few all-women locals. It was really surprising to see the differences that marked the activities of the two different types of local union.

The San Francisco local was the first to initiate the practice of compelling the employer to provide uniforms and pay for laundering them. It banned the practice of employers selecting abbreviated costumes for waitresses designed more for provoking the desire for sex than for stimulating the appetite for food.

It questioned the self-serving argument of waiters and their union representatives that the best paying night-time jobs should go to men because, you see, the "ladies" should not be placed in the position of having to go out alone at night without an escort—male, of course!

I do not believe the coming radicalization among workers will be a repetition of the deep-going radicalization of the 1930s. Too many things have changed and many for the better.

Today's women workers

Women, for one, will never be the same after the experience of the past forty years and especially after the intensive impact upon our consciousness of the women's liberation movement.

This guarantees that the next radicalization will be deeper, broader, more profound, and more successful in advancing our emancipatory goals.

That is why we pay so much attention to such organizations as the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

We view such organizations as a portent of the future, organizations that will arise out of the real needs and struggles around the special problems of women as a doubly exploited contingent of the coming radicalized army of freedom fighters.

It is this explosive ingredient, present only in embryo in the past as I knew it, that holds forth the brightest promise for the victory of our socialist future.

By George Breitman

News about the Socialist Workers Party suit against the government is largely blacked out in the capitalist press and TV. And it's not because the subject is unimportant or the pre-trial hearings uninteresting.

When books are written about this suit, as there undoubtedly will be, I hope plenty of space will be found to examine the ways the capitalist media treated the suit before and during the trial, which is scheduled to begin this month.

Especially needed is a spotlight on the authoritarian demands being raised by the government (the defendants) in the current pre-trial hearings in the federal court in New York presided over by Judge Thomas P. Griesa. As the *Militant* has reported during the last two months, the government is demanding that the court recognize and approve its alleged right to "investigate" (spy upon and harass) anybody or any group that it feels like.

Anticipating that Judge Griesa might not agree

association, etc.) interlarded with innuendos about possible sabotage, possible perjury, or possible violations of law to conceal the SWP's "real" relations with the Fourth International.

And to explain the flimsiness of this concoction, the document offers two excuses. First, Mandigo takes refuge, as the government has done since this case began, in its "inability" to substantiate its accusations because it must protect vital secrets. Specifically, the government invokes its need to protect "secrets of state"—that is, secrets relating to "the national defense or the international relations of the United States," as the lawbooks define it.

Second, Special Agent Mandigo explains that it was not easy to find illegal activities in the files of the six because, "during a substantial period of the investigation there was no emphasis in trying to establish criminal conduct." This admission itself goes a long way toward proving our charge that FBI spying against the SWP and YSA has been illegal all along.

against him. If there had been even a small chance that they could get him convicted for perjury, they certainly would have taken him to trial. So what possible reason is there for the government to bring this up again twenty-two years later if it's not to smear Dobbs and the SWP on the eve of the party's suit against harassment? The deliberate failure of the document to state why "no prosecutive action was taken" rules out any other explanation.

Despite Mandigo's imposing title and his boasted access to all files and records which may be relevant, a large part of this document is based on hearsay and unverified material from old newspaper clippings which the FBI presents as fact (on the select occasions when that suits their purpose).

By coincidence I recently have been reading some of the same newspaper clippings that the government document relies on. 1984 will be the centenary of Carl Skoglund, a founder of the movement that became the SWP and one of the finest figures in American revolutionary history. In preparation for that occasion, I have been collecting information about his life both in Sweden and the United States.

That is why I can state with certainty that what the document says about Skoglund is replete with errors—very often two or more in a single sentence—and with lies. See the footnotes about Skoglund on page 22 for verification of my charge. The question I want to answer here is: where did the government get its "facts"?

In large part from the *Militant*. Yes, from the same *Militant* that it has tried for so many years to discredit and suppress.

At the end of 1928, Skoglund was expelled from the Communist Party which he had helped to found; the charge against him—"Trotskyism"—was the same one the government used to hound him in later years. And the *Militant* of February 1, 1929, printed a brief biographical sketch of the recently expelled Skoglund which the government now, fifty-two years later, hopes to use (without attribution) to justify its harassment of workers like Skoglund.

But not every statement in the *Militant* is completely accurate. I say that as a former editor, well aware of the pains this paper takes to learn and print the truth. Despite that, factual errors sometimes are made. They probably occurred more frequently in 1929, when the paper was only a few weeks old and still lacked a professional editorial staff.

The government's first sentence about Skoglund says the same thing that the *Militant* sketch did: that he participated in a military strike of 4,000 soldiers in Sweden in 1906 (when Sweden was on the verge of war with Norway) and that he was punished by solitary confinement. But both these statements are inaccurate. (I leave aside the question of what relevance *anything* Skoglund did in 1906 might have to the government's charge of illegal acts by the SWP, which wasn't formed until 1938, some thirty-two years later.)

A recent investigation of Swedish War Department records shows that in 1906 there were soldier demonstrations (the draftees wanted to be sent home), but not a military strike. And an examination of Skoglund's military records shows that he was never tried or court-martialed and that his so-called "solitary confinement" probably consisted of being restricted to his barracks for a short period, a relatively minor punishment meted out without trial in an army organized on the old Prussian militarist model.

Why can I learn some of the facts about Skoglund in Sweden while the mighty FBI relies on statements from a paper it hates and hounds? Because I am interested in learning and telling the truth about Skoglund and they aren't. Because I tried to get information from Sweden and they didn't.

Why should they investigate the actual facts when an inaccurate version suits their purposes better? "Military strike" is better than "soldier demonstrations" and "solitary confinement" sounds better than "restricted to company barracks" when the aim is to show that Skoglund, twenty-two years old, was already a man so dangerous that nobody and nothing must limit the FBI's power to spy on, wiretap, harass, blacklist, and otherwise victimize people like him.

But the government doesn't just paraphrase certain passages in the *Militant* sketch of Skoglund—it also deliberately falsifies others.

After reporting a little about young Skoglund's political and union activities in Sweden, the *Militant* said: "Blacklisted and came to America, 1912." The government's version says: "He was black-

Continued on next page

Why the FBI can't get facts straight

Gov't submits phony list of SWP 'crimes' on eve of trial

that the government has the right to spy on everyone, the Justice Department has also begun claiming that the SWP and YSA are involved in illegal activities. If the FBI can't spy on everyone, at least they have the right to go after the socialists, the government lawyers argue.

The government's "evidence" in support of the charge that the SWP and YSA have been violating the law is unbelievably flimsy and shoddy. Its flimsiness and shoddiness can be assessed by reading a document submitted to the court by the government on February 23, at Judge Griesa's request.

It has frequently been pointed out that despite FBI surveillance since 1938, the government has been unable to point to any illegal acts by the SWP or its members since the prosecution of SWP leaders in the Minneapolis sedition trial of 1941. To which the government's lawyers recently replied that, on the contrary, the SWP has been responsible for "loads of illegal acts." So Griesa told them to bring in a list of all such illegal acts recorded in the files of six SWP leaders—Jack Barnes, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Andrew Pulley, and Carl Skoglund.

After stalling for a while and moaning about the hardships entailed in producing such a list, the government finally submitted a document signed by one Charles E. Mandigo, who says he is "a Supervisory Special Agent in the Legal Counsel Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Headquarters, Washington, D.C. I have access to all files and records which may be relevant to civil litigation in which the FBI is a party or has an interest."

The parts of this document relating to the six SWP leaders are printed on page 21. As they show, this document does not provide a list of illegal acts allegedly committed by the six. Instead, it offers something quite different—acts that "have or may have" been illegal.

No effort is made to distinguish between acts that were illegal and those that "may have" been. This murky indefiniteness is obviously deliberate. The government does not want to admit that it has nothing on its SWP illegality list since the 1941 frame-up in Minneapolis because that would undermine its claim to an unlimited "right" to spy on the SWP.

So it has concocted a list of plainly legal acts (exercises of the rights of free speech, free press, free

Another notable feature of the document is the number of factual errors, misstatements, and outright lies these lists abound in. Some of these are indicated in footnotes added to the text of the government document. Some of these errors are not important in themselves; others are. But in all cases the question arises:

If the FBI and the government, which have "access to all the files and records which may be relevant," can't supply accurate information about simple and easily ascertainable dates and other facts, after having spied on the SWP for over forty years at a cost of who-knows-how-many millions of dollars, what reason is there to believe their allegations and claims on other, more important questions?

The thoroughly dishonest character of this document can be seen in the way it uses hearsay and innuendo to smear the SWP leaders. For example, take the allegation that in 1942, Cannon was a "possible suspect" in the alleged sabotage of a train in an unstated place. The way this is presented in the government document shows that it is intended to arouse prejudice against Cannon and the SWP.

Fortunately, Cannon wrote about this incident in the *Militant* in 1942 and Farrell Dobbs provided additional information about it in his 1977 book, *Teamster Bureaucracy* (see page 20.) And so we know what happened, or at least one side of it:

First the FBI tries to frame up and intimidate the SWP, one year after the Minneapolis trial but before the SWP leaders went to prison in that case. The SWP protests publicly, and the FBI backs off, dropping its "investigation." This means that somewhere in the Department of Justice files is a decision to discontinue this case, and why. Instead of reporting that decision, the FBI now revives a smear that it originated in the first place and was compelled to withdraw thirty-nine years ago, and does this in deceptively "objective" terms about Cannon being "interviewed as a possible suspect."

Thus an incident in the FBI's long harassment of the SWP has been refurbished to serve as justification for a continuation of that harassment.

Similar crookedness distinguishes the document in other places. It says that the New York FBI office was instructed to determine if Farrell Dobbs had committed perjury when he testified at a deportation hearing in 1959. It also says the FBI investigated and sent a transcript of the hearing to the Department of Justice "but no prosecutive action was taken."

In other words, the government, after carefully studying Dobbs's testimony, realized it had no case

George Breitman, an editor of the *Militant* in the 1940s and '50s, has recently been doing research in the early history of the SWP and its leaders and is familiar with the background of some of the allegations in the latest government document submitted in the SWP suit against the government and the FBI.

...why the FBI can't get facts straight

Continued from preceding page

listed by labor and came to the United States in 1912." This attribution of the blacklisting suffered by Skoglund in Sweden is a pure and malicious invention.

Skoglund was blacklisted by Swedish employers, just as later he was repeatedly blacklisted by American employers with the active and eager aid of the FBI. The labor movement in the part of Sweden where Skoglund lived was too weak at that time to get recognition from most employers and utterly unable to blacklist its members even if it had wanted to do such a suicidal thing. The FBI wouldn't know or care, but in those years there were hardly any unions either in Sweden or here that had become so bureaucratized they would even think of cooperating with the employers in the blacklisting of union members.

I would like to close on a point that may seem excessively psychological but actually is quite political. Why is this government document so sloppy and unconvincing? It couldn't be for lack of time—this case has been in the courts since 1973, and has cost us taxpayers many millions of dollars for a large staff of government lawyers and their assistants.

The answer, I think, is that the government, despite its sweeping assertion of an unrestricted "right" to engage in espionage against the American people, is acutely conscious of the fact that its assertion is rejected by an overwhelming majority of the people and is therefore nervous about the outcome of this suit. They know they will never win this case on the merits of its weak legal "arguments" and even weaker "facts"; if they win, it will be for other reasons.

That could explain the shoddiness of this document.



James P. Cannon in 1948

How the SWP derailed an FBI frame-up

By Larry Seigle

In the FBI's entire compendium of the "illegal" activities of the SWP (see page 21), only two alleged incidents have even a hypothetical relationship to any criminal acts.

The first involves a charge against Andrew Pulley for "inciting a riot" and "breach of peace" for participating in an outdoor meeting of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, in 1969. Of course the gathering was totally peaceful, and the Army's efforts to frame up the antiwar GIs for their participation in it collapsed in the face of widespread publicity. The charges were dropped. Neither Pulley nor anyone else was ever convicted, or even tried, on those charges.

The second hint of criminal violence is contained in one sentence of the review of James P. Cannon's evil-doings: "In 1942, he was interviewed as a possible suspect in the sabotage of a train."

What does this mysterious charge refer to?

With Cannon dead, might the FBI hope that this accusation would remain unanswered, and forever unanswerable, an indelible question mark on the record of the SWP?

If so, they blew it again.

The 1942 accusation of train sabotage is well-documented as a crude frame-up attempt. It was so crude, in fact, that after Cannon was "interviewed" by FBI agents about the alleged train wreck, he sat down and wrote an open letter to Attorney General Francis Biddle.

In his open letter, Cannon recounted the facts surrounding the G-men's visit, and stated:

"The American workers, and all decent citizens, must recoil with horror from the implication that the federal government is going into the business of imputing fantastic crimes of violence and sabotage to political opponents and critics, and of framing up such charges against them, when the real purpose is political persecution.

"Our political ideas can be read in all our papers and pamphlets openly published and distributed. Any attempt to attribute ideas and practices to us outside of those that are openly advocated by us must be publicly called by its right name: a prelude to a frame-up."

This letter was published in the November 21, 1942, issue of the *Militant*. It is reprinted in *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II*, by James P. Cannon, available from Pathfinder Press for \$6.45.

But maybe it's Cannon's word against the FBI. Who knows what the agents really said to Cannon, and what the answers were, back in 1942?

Fortunately, there was another participant in the interview. The other person present was Farrell Dobbs. And the whole story of this attempted frame-up is recounted in Dobbs's book, *Teamster Bureaucracy* (Pathfinder Press, \$4.95).

Dobbs puts the "train wreck" plot in context. Cannon, Dobbs, and the other leaders of the SWP and the Teamsters union had been convicted under the Smith Act in 1941. They were appealing their convictions through the courts, and mobilizing public support for their campaign to win a reversal of the verdict.

Support from the labor movement was growing. During 1942, about 150 central labor bodies and local unions, representing more than one million workers, passed resolutions protesting the Smith Act frame-up. Support was also growing from Black groups, and from many other quarters.

What's more, the Smith Act convictions had failed to silence the SWP, which continued to speak

out against the war and against the policies of the Roosevelt administration. So it was not surprising that a new frame-up effort was contemplated.

Dobbs recounts: "A move having the earmarks of a new plot against us was made in the fall of 1942. Two FBI agents appeared one day at the SWP's national office in New York. They introduced themselves as operatives for the Justice Department's 'sabotage division' and asked to see the principal officer of the party. Since they had come in broad daylight on this occasion, asking for official consultation, it seemed advisable to talk with them. We had no intention, though, of subjecting one individual to possible entrapment by two frame-up specialists, so both Jim Cannon and I sat in on the conversation.

"We were told that the FBI was investigating a railway wreck which had occurred about a year-and-a-half earlier. The agents said the train following or preceding the one involved in the accident had carried officials of the Soviet Union, and therefore they were checking out the possibility that the wreck had resulted from a miscarried act of sabotage by enemies of the Stalin regime. Then they proceeded to put on a soft-cop, hard-cop act.

"One of the FBI men assured us that we were not considered definite suspects. They were merely looking into every angle and had come to us in the process because the party was known to be opposed to the Stalinists. 'To show good faith,' he added, they had first approached the SWP leadership, but they wanted a list of party members in order to question others on the subject.

"We pointed out that the party was politically opposed to sabotage as a tactic in the fight for social change and that our position on the question had often been expressed publicly. The government knew all about our views, moreover, so the visit we were receiving signified to us that another crude frame-up was in the making. It was the height of insolence to ask our cooperation in such an attempt, and under no circumstances, we declared, would they be given membership lists.

"If you don't cooperate,' the hard cop then threatened, 'we can make real trouble for you.'

"That is quite obvious,' we replied, 'since your outfit is already railroading eighteen of our people in a Smith Act frame-up. But you don't frighten us. Go ahead and make your trouble.'

For whatever reasons, the FBI decided not to follow through on the sabotage frame-up.

Nothing more was ever heard on the subject. Nothing, that is, until the affidavit of Special Agent Charles E. Mandigo.

Thirty-nine years later.



J. EDGAR HOOVER

Following is the section of an affidavit by FBI Special Agent Charles E. Mandigo, concerning alleged violations of law by six leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Jack Barnes

The main file for Jack Barnes discloses that he joined the SWP in 1961; was an organizer in the Chicago Branch, SWP, in 1963; an organizer of the New York Branch, SWP, in 1964;¹ National Chairman of YSA in 1965; National Director of the 1968 SWP Presidential Campaign; and from 1968-1976 the National Organizational Secretary, SWP.² Barnes commenced a close association with the FI in approximately 1971 which was still ongoing at the date investigation was terminated, September 7, 1976. Aspects of Barnes' affiliation with the FI are or may be violative of law. However, such information is classified and cannot be disclosed herein. (An *in camera* declaration concerning Barnes has been prepared for *ex parte* submission to the Court.)

James Cannon

Cannon joined the Socialist Party in Kansas City and in 1911 he became active in the International Workers of the World.³ He attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International at Moscow, Russia, in 1922, and there for the first time met Leon Trotsky. He was one of the founders of and a highly-placed member of the American Communist Party. He was National Secretary of the International Labor Defense from its foundation in June, 1925, until October, 1928. After returning from the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow in 1928, he supported the ideas of Trotsky before the American Communist Party and was expelled as a result.

He has been the most important figure in the Trotskyist movement in the United States, leading it successively in the Communist League of America (the "left" opposition of the Communist Party) from 1929 to 1933;⁴ the Workers Party of the United States, 1934 to 1936; the Socialist Party, 1936 to 1937; and finally, the SWP, 1938 until his death. His official title until 1953 was National Secretary, at which time he became National Chairman. He wrote frequently for the SWP paper, "The Militant," and the SWP magazine, "Fourth International," and was the author of a number of Trotskyist books and pamphlets, among them "History of American Trotskyism" and "Building a Proletarian Party."⁵ He was among the 18 Trotskyists convicted in the Minneapolis sedition trial in 1941, see attachment F. His life featured numerous other arrests and short jail terms prior to that time.⁶ He had FBI number 2382445.

In 1940, Cannon was considered to be the head of the FI.⁷ In 1942, he was interviewed as a possible suspect in the sabotage of a train.⁸ In 1950, Cannon stated that he believed that in the event of a world conflict, the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America.⁹ In 1946 at the SWP National

Convention, Cannon stated that the SWP stood for a revolution in America, it was the only way to establish socialism, and the SWP would be the one to start the revolution.¹⁰ Cannon has also made the following statement:

In the Federal court room at Minneapolis, we were accused, as you know—and not only accused, but tried and convicted—of advocating the principles of the Russian Revolution, and of intending to apply those principles in the United States. Indeed, we were guilty of that intention and said so frankly in the court room in Minneapolis. And we were convicted and we served our sentence in prison and we are still guilty. And here on this festive occasion tonight, honoring and celebrating the great revolution, we once again plead guilty to advocating its principles and of intending to apply them in the liberating revolution of the workers in the United States. And we add: We earnestly hope to live long enough to carry out that intention in practice . . . *The Militant*, November 16, 1946. (Remarks from Cannon's speech on the occasion of the 39th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.)¹¹

Cannon's file contains numerous statements attributable to him of a similar nature to those set forth

A G-man's list of 'illegal acts' committed by socialists

above. Additionally, there is classified information which documents his relationship with the FI which cannot be disclosed herein.

Farrell Dobbs

Dobbs joined the Workers Party of the United States (Trotskyists) in March, 1934.¹² From 1934 to 1939, with the exception of a ten-month period, he was a secretary of Local 554 of the Drivers Union, Minneapolis, Minnesota.¹³ In 1938 he visited Leon Trotsky in Mexico City.¹⁴ In 1940 he resigned his post as general organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters¹⁵ and became National Labor Secretary of the SWP. Since that time he ranked second only to James P. Cannon in leadership of the SWP.

He became editor of the SWP paper, "The Militant," in August, 1943. He was among the 18 Trotskyists convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in December, 1941, see attachment F, and was sentenced to serve

wiretapper? If from a speech or article, where was it given or printed?

10. Such statements may be deemed correct or incorrect, but in what way are they illegal or possibly illegal? What statute is violated by such utterances?

11. Did the illegality or possible illegality of this statement consist of pleading guilty to advocating certain principles or of earnestly hoping to live long enough to put those principles into practice? Either Mandigo doesn't know when the Russian revolution occurred, or he can't add, or both. In 1946, we were celebrating only its twenty-ninth anniversary.

12. Dobbs joined the Communist League of America. The Workers Party was not started until December 1934.

13. There was no Drivers Local 554 in Minneapolis. It was named Local 574 until 1936, and Local 544 after that.

14. Dobbs visited Trotsky in Mexico twice—both times in 1940.

15. Dobbs resigned as Teamsters organizer in 1939. Might that too have been an illegal act, justifying FBI surveillance and harassment?

a 16-month term at the Federal Correctional Institution at Sandstone, Minnesota. After his release from prison he resumed his activities as a leading figure in the SWP, running as SWP candidate for mayor in New York City in 1945 and thereafter resuming editorship of "The Militant."

He was re-elected to the National Committee of the SWP at the November, 1945, convention¹⁶ and also to the Control Commission. He was SWP candidate for President of the United States in 1948 and 1952.¹⁷ He testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the North Atlantic Pact on May 5, 1959.

In an article by Dobbs in the Pioneer pamphlet, "The Coming American Revolution," Dobbs states that the Trotskyites have consistently advocated a genuine revolutionary Socialist program.¹⁸ Dobbs has stated that when one joins the SWP he is not necessarily a Trotskyist, but rather a member of the revolutionary vanguard, and "one thing is certain, we are the party that is going to lead the American Revolution."¹⁹

On various occasions Dobbs solicited funds for overseas "comrades."²⁰ Dobbs also assisted in the establishment of Trotskyist organizations in various countries.²¹ Based on testimony by Dobbs on December 16, 1959, at a deportation hearing, the New York Field Office, FBI, was instructed to determine if he committed perjury; an investigation was conducted and the hearing transcript was submitted to the Department of Justice, but no prosecutive action was taken.²² Dobbs has counseled SWP members not to sign loyalty oaths but to deny membership in a subversive group so that they would not lose contacts in the unions, an act which would be violative of the *Taft-Hartley Act*.²³

In the early 1960's when a split developed in the FI, Dobbs worked toward its reunification.²⁴ Other specifics relating to Dobbs' relationship with the FI cannot be disclosed herein because such information is classified.

Joseph Hansen

Hansen was recruited into the Workers Party (Trotskyist) in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1934.²⁵ Hansen spent time in close association with Trotsky in Mexico and was on the roof at the time Trotsky was assassinated in 1940. Hansen transported Trotsky's archives to Harvard University shortly after his assassination. He was a member of the National Committee, SWP, and served as editor of "The Militant" and the "Fourth International."

In 1948, Hansen stated that "every comrade in the SWP will some day be expected to lead an army in the overthrow of the capitalism in America."²⁶ In 1951, he stated that, "in the event of war between Russia and the United States, the SWP would be forced to fight on the side of Russia . . ."²⁷ In the

Continued on next page

16. There was no SWP convention in 1945.

17. And also in 1956 and 1960. Does their omission here mean that Dobbs's candidacy in 1948 and 1952 was illegal or potentially illegal, while his campaigns in 1956 and 1960 were—what?

18. Is that illegal?

19. Is saying such a thing illegal too?

20. Does that make him guilty of violating some antisoliciting statute?

21. Assisted how? What is the source of this statement?

22. If "no prosecutive action was taken" by the government and Department of Justice, they must have taken some other action to close the case. What was it and why is the FBI so coy about saying?

23. Could it be that he counseled SWP members to deny that the SWP was a subversive group instead of telling them to deny membership in "a" subversive group? How could such counselling be "violative of the Taft-Hartley Act"?

24. No split in the Fourth International developed in the 1960s that Dobbs tried to heal. The reunification he worked for concerned a split that had occurred in 1953.

25. Hansen joined the Communist League of America in 1934, before the Workers Party existed.

26. When and where was this statement allegedly made? Is this from the "report" of an FBI informer? It sounds more like a stool pigeon's translation than the kind of English that Hansen spoke and wrote.

27. What was the source of this statement? Did it include any explanation about who or what was going to "force" the SWP to take this position—the Soviet government? the Fourth International? sunspots?

1. Barnes was not New York organizer in 1964.

2. Barnes was National Organizational Secretary from 1968 to 1972. In 1972, he was elected National Secretary.

3. The name of the organization Cannon joined in 1911, when he was twenty-one, was the *Industrial Workers of the World*.

4. Cannon was a leader of the Communist League of America from 1929 to 1934, when it fused with another organization to form the Workers Party of the United States.

5. He never wrote a book or pamphlet with this title.

6. Why the reticence about saying that all of Cannon's arrests before 1941 were in connection with his union organizing activities? Why the lack of specific charges against him, whether he was convicted, etc.

7. By whom was he considered "the head of the FI" in 1940? That is, outside of the government and the FBI.

8. Why was Cannon labeled a possible suspect? Did any official body ever rule that it was actually a case of sabotage or was it just another railroad accident? When and where did it occur? What happened to the FBI "investigation" after Cannon's 1942 letter to the Attorney General exposed it as the beginning of a frame-up of the SWP? (See page 20). The Department of Justice must have officially called off this "investigation" of the SWP on the ground that a sabotage charge was too incredible and evidence entirely nonexistent. So why isn't that information supplied by these people with "access to all the files and records"?

9. When and where did Cannon state such a belief? Is this paraphrase based on "testimony" by an FBI informer or

... 'illegal acts'

Continued from preceding page

late 1960's, Hansen edited "World Outlook," an official international organ of the FI. On June 15, 1968, Hansen was arrested in Paris, France, and was expelled from France.²⁸ Information concerning his close working association with the FI on behalf of the SWP cannot be disclosed herein because it is classified.

Andrew Pulley

Pulley became a member of the YSA in 1969, and in 1972 became National Secretary. In 1970, he became a member of the SWP. In 1972, he was the SWP's Vice-Presidential candidate. Pulley was charged with a number of violations while in the Army, including: December 9, 1968 - AWOL, \$50 per month for two months; February 11, 1969 - summary Court Martial, failure to obey a lawful order;²⁹ March 6, 1969 - forfeiture of \$22, restriction to quarters and extra duty for refusal to obey an order; March 21, 1969 - inciting a riot, breach of peace and disrespect for an officer;³⁰ and on May 23, 1969, he received a dishonorable discharge.³¹ On a tour of the United States and foreign countries, Pulley urged military personnel to resist orders and demonstrate against the war.³² He also has said that ideally the GIs should take up their guns and shoot the officers, and violence was to be used when the anti-war involvement had the active support of the

28. Hansen was expelled from France not for breaking any laws but because the French government did not like the articles he was writing for *Intercontinental Press* and the *Militant* about the student-labor upsurge of 1968.

29. After helping to organize antiwar GIs at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, into a group called "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam," Pulley was subjected to repeated harassment at the hands of the Army brass. The "lawful order" Pulley was accused of disobeying was a sergeant's "direct order to go to bed."

30. On March 20 (not the 21st), a large outdoor meeting of the GIs United took place at Fort Jackson. Pulley and seven other soldiers were arrested the next day and put in the stockade. After the military equivalent of a grand jury inquiry, however, all the charges were dropped. No one was ever tried or convicted on any charges stemming from that incident.

31. Pulley was never dishonorably discharged from the Army, something which can only happen after conviction by a general court-martial. After six weeks in the stockade facing charges from the GIs United meeting, he decided to accept an undesirable discharge in lieu of a trial by court-martial, at which he faced a maximum sentence of ten years at hard labor. Several days after he signed papers agreeing to accept the undesirable discharge, all the charges against him and the other GIs were dropped.

32. He certainly urged them to join the demonstrations against the war, but where and when did he supposedly urge soldiers to "resist orders"?



Fort Jackson Eight. Andrew Pulley, left, and seven other GIs were arrested for organizing against Vietnam War. All charges were later dropped.

majority of GIs.³³ Pulley received funds from foreign Trotskyist groups, sections of the FI,³⁴ on his world tour.

Carl Skoglund

Skoglund participated in a military strike of 4,000 soldiers in Sweden in 1906 and was punished by solitary confinement.³⁵ He was black-listed by labor in Sweden and came to the United States in 1912.³⁶ He was a member of the International Workers of the World from 1917 to 1921, and traveled throughout the United States organizing and aiding in this movement.³⁷ In 1922 and 1923 he was Chairman of

33. When did he say that, or is this just another stool pigeon's version of what he said?

34. Where? When? How much? For what purpose?

35. Skoglund and other conscripts in the Swedish army held demonstrations when the army seemed to be about to start a war with Norway, but this was not a military strike. His army records show that he was never charged or tried for participating in the demonstrations, and the most punishment he could have been given was restriction to his barracks, which is not recorded in army records.

36. He was never blacklisted "by labor," which had neither the ability nor the motive to do such a thing at that time. He was blacklisted by employers in Sweden, the same thing that happened to him later in the U.S. He emigrated to this country in 1911.

37. Skoglund the Marxist joined the IWW to show his solidarity with the Wobblies when they were being perse-

cut by the government during World War I, and because he wanted to recruit some of its members to the Socialist Party. He never traveled anywhere on behalf of the IWW. The FBI seems to have a fixation on the international relations of the SWP; the government evidently considers the SWP's fraternal relations with the Fourth International its most heinous feature. Maybe that's why they can't get the name of the Industrial Workers of the World right.

He was a charter member of the SWP and he

Continued on next page

38. These three sentences confirm that Skoglund was a popular union leader and a staunch defender of the workers' interests. But that was not illegal in Skoglund's time and it's not illegal now, despite the FBI. The 1919 strike's "illegality" consisted only of the decision by the railroad shopmen to withhold their labor when the railroads tried to cut their wages.

39. The pretext used for removing Skoglund from the presidency to which the members of Local 544 had twice

Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police



Can the Federal Bureau of Investigation feed information from political files to employers to get unionists fired from their jobs? Can the Immigration and Naturalization Service deport foreign-born workers for their political views? Can police agencies legally plant stool pigeons in unions and other organizations, even if no one involved is suspected of a crime?

According to the government, the answer is yes.

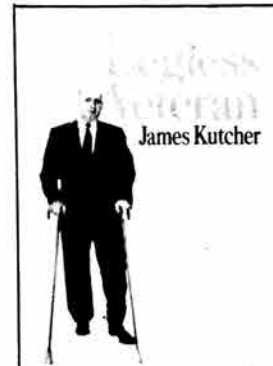
The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are putting the U.S. government and its police agencies on trial to challenge these practices.

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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (include \$.75 for postage and handling).

Statement by Fred Halstead

A crime the SWP can't bear to hide

By Fred Halstead

The Justice Department, in connection with the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI, has asserted that "the Government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature."

It has further asserted: "The issue in this case is not whether the SWP, the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt. The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the Government of the United States, even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law."

Much as it disturbs me to do this, I must now confess that I am in possession of documents that show the FBI actually did uncover a transgression of the "letter of the law" by the Socialist Workers Party.

The documents consist of two letters: one from the director of the FBI to the special agent in charge of the San Francisco FBI office, and the other from the San Francisco special agent in charge to the director of the FBI.

Copies of these documents were turned over to the SWP by court order as part of the discovery process in the suit. The seriousness of their content was not noted, however, until they were put into a file for me to read as preparation for my testimony in the trial. I have read this file and feel obligated by conscience to reveal the content of these documents without further delay.

In so doing I realize that I am throwing the reputation of the SWP on the mercy of public opinion just before the trial, but in the interests of fair play it must be done. The letter from the director of the FBI is dated August 6, 1962. The pertinent section reads:

"The Bureau has carefully considered the counterintelligence suggestion submitted in referenced letter which proposed that we mail anonymously or under an assumed name to Hanna-Barbera Productions, Hollywood, California, a copy of a leaflet prepared by the SWP to advertise one of their social events, an open house benefit affair, on 7/22/62. This leaflet is decorated with a reproduction of



YOGI BEAR

'Yogi Bear,' a cartoon character copyrighted by the Hanna-Barbera Productions.

"San Francisco considers that it may be possible that Hanna-Barbera Productions would take legal action against the SWP for copyright infringement and also points out that there may be a technical violation of Title 17, United States Code, Section 104.

"Bureau authority to carry out this counterintelligence operation against the SWP is being held in abeyance pending presentation of this matter to the United States Attorney under the Copyright Matters classification.

"With sufficient details to show that Hanna-Barbera Productions has a valid copyright for 'Yogi Bear,' you should discuss this case with the United States Attorney.

"Provided the United States Attorney declines to consider prosecution and states that he does not desire any further investigation by the FBI, you should request the Bureau to consider further the counterintelligence suggestion."

The second letter, from the San Francisco FBI office to the Washington FBI headquarters, is dated August 16, 1962. It reads:

"The San Francisco office is preparing a report under the caption 'SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, COPYRIGHT MATTERS,' in which it is stated that the United States Attorney declined prosecution under Title 17, USC, Section 104, because there is no indication that the violation was willful. The USA also stated that he desired no further investigation in this matter.

"Since the fact that a violation did exist is now known outside of the FBI, it is felt that the proposed counterintelligence operation against the SWP could not now be carried out with assurance that the FBI would not be revealed as the instigator of the action.

"The San Francisco Office is therefore withdrawing its counterintelligence suggestion because of the chance that embarrassment might result at a future date."

Perish the thought. In revealing these facts, I can only hope that Yogi Bear is not found guilty by association.

... 'illegal acts'

Continued from page 22

openly advocated and preached the overthrow of the United States Government by force and armed revolution.⁴⁰ On July 15, 1941, with several others, he was indicted at St. Paul, Minnesota, in an indictment charging overthrow of the United States⁴¹ and also with conspiring to advocate, counsel and advise the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. On December 1, 1941, at Minneapolis, Minnesota, after a trial lasting from October 27, 1941, Skoglund was convicted of conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government, and at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on December 8, 1941, he was sentenced to a term of sixteen months in the Federal penitentiary, see attachment F.

On May 6, 1942, Skoglund was ordered deported, but due to international conditions no action was taken at that time. On May 20, 1954, the Immigration and Naturalization Service obtained a deportation order but never acted on the order.⁴²

elected him was not that he had violated any federal, state, or local laws, but that the undemocratic constitution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters barred its noncitizen members from holding office in the union.

40. When and where did he openly do this?

41. "An indictment charging overthrow of the Government of the United States"? That sounds as though the government was overthrown some time before July 15, 1941. Most historians seem to have overlooked this "event."

42. A contemptible lie. The Immigration and Naturalization Service and the FBI did everything in their power to deport Skoglund, then seventy years old. They arrested and held him a prisoner on Ellis Island for almost five months, and put him on a ship headed for Sweden—from which he was released by a court order only ten minutes before it sailed.



Demonstration for jobs, Washington, D.C., May 1980. Actions like this, not 'illegal acts,' are real target of FBI.

Fighter against capitalism

Max Engel's rebellious and fruitful life

By Max Goldman
and Shevi Goldman

LOS ANGELES—There have not been many individuals in this country who remained faithful to the teachings of Marxism and ideals of the Russian revolution, from its birth in October 1917 to the present day.

Max Engel, who died in Los Angeles in late December at the age of eighty-nine, was one of these remarkable veterans of international socialism. He was among the first unionists in the garment trades of New York City to rally to the Communist League of America, the predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party, in the early 1930s, and remained a steadfast supporter thereafter.

Current members of the Trotskyist movement will most vividly recall his presence at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1978, and the vigor and relish with which this pensioner announced a \$5,000 contribution to its fund—\$100 for each year. This was the culminating act of a political career in the radical ranks that stretched back before the 1905 revolution in Poland, then a part of Russia.

"There I was on the platform," he later remarked, "looking out at the



Max Engel at 1978 SWP national educational gathering.

earnest, enthusiastic young people applauding me, and I felt part of the movement that is destined to make the change to a socialist America. But as

the young people applauded me, I wanted to applaud them, because they are the ones who are going to make that change."

Max carried this spirit of optimism with him to the last. Less than two weeks before his death, he entertained several visiting French comrades by singing them Irish revolutionary songs.

Max arrived at his political views from a background and experiences common to many East European immigrants. Born in Warsaw in 1891, he grew up in an orthodox Jewish family. His mother operated a small dairy store. Max often said that if his mother were alive today, she would be a staunch supporter of the women's liberation movement.

As a teenager, Max witnessed the events of the 1905 revolution in Poland. Adventurous and fearless, as he was all his life, he ran through the streets of Warsaw dodging bullets as he followed the confrontation between the demonstrators and soldiers. This experience left a deep impression on him, and influenced the course of his life.

Max emigrated to the United States for several reasons, in part because he was opposed to military service and

did not want to be drafted into the czar's army. This opposition to war continued all his life.

During World War I, Max refused to register for the draft. He was always looking over his shoulder, expecting at any time the authorities would stop him and ask to see his draft card. It never happened. He came through unscathed, and heaved a sigh of relief when the war was over.

Throughout the years Max supported the Socialist Workers Party's activities, election campaigns, and political program. Over the past twenty years, he participated in demonstrations to support the Cuban revolution, to protest the war in Vietnam, and to aid the struggle for Black rights. He lost many friends because of his refusal to give political support to Israel. He made frequent financial contributions and was a continuous reader of the party press from the first issue.

Max said that when he arrived in this country and stepped off the boat at Ellis Island, he was a socialist. And he remained a socialist until he died.

The Socialist Workers Party held a memorial meeting in Los Angeles on January 11 in recognition of Max Engel's fifty years of support to the Trotskyist movement.

Toledo forum hears activists on liberties fight

By Janet Post

TOLEDO—Activists representing several struggles spoke at a January 31 Militant Labor Forum on "How we can defend our civil liberties."

Sherri Katz, an attorney and member of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on the SWP suit against the government.

"At a January pretrial hearing Federal Judge Thomas Griesa asked the government to list illegal activities it was accusing the SWP of doing," Katz recalled. "Did they participate in the plan of a bombing?" he asked. "Did

they participate in assassinations? Did they leave the country illegally for Cuba and return under false names?"

"When I heard this," Katz said, "it occurred to me that the government had planned and participated in all of these things."

Seamus Metress, member of the Clan Na Gael, spoke of the history of repression of civil rights in Ireland and the harassment of Irish people in this country who defend the nationalist movement.

Referring to the recent attack on the life of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

Metress pointed out the strong possibility that it had been inspired by the British Special Services.

Carlos Flores, head of the Latino Student Union at Bowling Green University, reviewed the university's violations of affirmative action programs in both student recruitment and faculty hiring practices.

National Organization for Women representative Anna Schell explained how the ongoing attacks on abortion rights would affect all women's civil right to choose whether or not they want to have a child. Schell also spoke of the reaction of Ohio women to Reagan's election. In a normal month, she said, membership in Ohio NOW

might increase by 200, but following the election the organization found itself with more than 1,000 new members.

Dale Wilker, attorney for the Toledo Black Firefighters' Caucus, also spoke at the forum. Black firefighters have been laid off from the Toledo Fire Department regardless of affirmative action quotas.

Wilker called for fewer work hours as a solution to layoffs and unemployment. Seamus Metress added "... and solidarity in the labor movement. There was a time when steelworker supported coal miner and teamster supported auto worker. We need that now."

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SWP rights rally in Seattle

By Mary Nell Bockman

SEATTLE—A highlight of the February 14 rally to support the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit here was greetings from Fatima Fallahi, a member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran.

"I am very happy to be here tonight to give my solidarity to the SWP because I know how important the case is," she said.

When the students took over the U.S. embassy," she said, "millions of the people of Iran came to support those students and show their hatred for the CIA and the U.S. government."

"For twenty-seven years our people were oppressed, tortured and executed under the shah and his secret police, the SAVAK," she explained. "This terror network was built up by the CIA. That's why this case is so important to us."

"It is not just in Iran. If you take a look at El Salvador and other places you can see that the CIA is involved. When the Iranian students took over the embassy they got documents that show how the CIA was involved in Iran and other countries. We are going to publish these for the world to see."

"The CIA is still involved in Iran," she added. "They supported a coup six months ago and support Iraq in its war with our people."

They don't want to 'lose' Iran and our oil.

"Your case is very important, and I am sure we are going to win it. I can give the solidarity of the Iranian people; millions of us are behind you. Good luck."

Greetings were read to the rally from Peter Pallipamu, local chairman, and Dennis Kamarainen, president, of Seattle Cascade Lodge 1380 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

"Institutions such as unions, churches, civil rights or special interest groups must be free of harassment or intrusion of the governmental agencies," the message said. "... the suit brought by the SWP tries to reestablish these fundamental rights of a free person in a democratic society."

Also speaking at the rally were Chris Hoepfner, a trade-unionist fired by Lockheed-Georgia Company because of his socialist politics; Mel Mason, a socialist city councilman from Seaside, California; Jon Pederson, local treasurer of the Citizen's Party; Tom Parsons, from the Seattle Coalition on Government Spying; and Kwame Taha, a professor at Shoreline Community College.

The evening's event was capped when rally participants responded to a fund appeal by pledging more than \$4,000.

Women in Revolt

'The hellish reality'

On March 28 trade unionists, environmentalists, women and men will demonstrate in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to demand no more Three Mile Islands; support the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract; and jobs for all.

This is an action that the women's movement should wholeheartedly support. Women are twice as susceptible as men to radiation-induced cancer, according to the National Academy of Science. Pregnant women are particularly vulnerable.

The National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, trade union women's committees and other women's groups all have a stake in assuring a big turnout by their members on March 28.

At the National NOW conference in San Antonio last October, a special hearing was conducted on nuclear power. At that hearing a number of women gave moving testimony on why NOW members should become active in the fight against nuclear power. Below are excerpts.

Jean Core, an attorney from the Three Mile Island area

My husband is a nuclear physicist. When he was studying physics many years ago, we thought that nuclear power was a great thing. This was going to be our future. My brother-in-law is a nuclear engineer for Westinghouse. He decided that the Three Mile Island plant would be built in this little island in the river.

Then the Three Mile Island accident happened.

When the accident first happened, because of my husband's inclination to have complete trust and faith in the nuclear power business, we were not allowed to take the accident seriously.

We now know that people living much closer to the reactor than we live tasted the Iodine 131 in their mouths. Their children got nauseated. They had burns on their skin.

We know that they were irradiated, but by the time we heard about the accident, the worst radioactivity had already been released. There were no warnings to us, just as there were no warnings to the people in southern Utah.

It was after the worst was over that we began to hear about it. We in Lancaster County take our drinking water directly from the Susquehanna River. The intake pipe is nine miles below the outflow pipe from Three Mile Island. The day of the accident, forty thousand gallons of radioactive water were discharged directly into our drinking water. We drank it, and no one told us about it. We didn't know about that until six months later.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Becky Hardee

Six years ago, while I sat by my seventeen-year-old sister's bedside trying to keep her air passages clear while she hemorrhaged from every opening in her body, I vowed to commit my life to fighting radiation and genetic mutation.

My family has always lived near Barnwell, South Carolina. There, a third of all high-level radiation is housed, including plutonium, from every nuclear facility in the country. The accidents there are just now getting declassified by the Department of Energy.

Nuclear waste is the Achilles heel of the industry, because there's nothing you can do with it. It is poisonous and remains that way for millions of years. Every phase of the nuclear operation deals with waste: mining, milling, processing. Now we are producing, year by year, tons of radioactive waste.

The following letter from Elizabeth Catalan of St. George, Utah, was read.

During the years of growing up in St. George, Utah, I never considered myself a guinea pig or a victim. The term "down-wind" didn't bear the connotation that it does for me today. I attended the Atomic Energy Commission and Air Force propaganda meetings with my father. Here we were

continually assured that there was no danger. It was our government assuring us, so there was an implicit trust and spirit of cooperation.

Watching an atomic detonation on the desert in a pre-dawn hour was a never-to-be-forgotten experience. Little did we realize the hellish reality the mushroom clouds were dispersing into the wind.

When my father died, the spark left my mother's eyes. He died of leukemia at the age of forty-eight, leaving mother to finish raising four of us. Never during his dying nor afterwards did he or the rest of us feel that the heavy radiation doses received were in some way responsible for his death.

For as long as I can remember I wanted to be a mother. However, the wind carried a special gift for the women from Ground Zero, Nevada. I did marry, and the pregnancy was normal—into the third month. Then began several months of wrenching anguish. Bleeding was never heavy, just steady. Because the pregnancy tests continued to be positive, the doctor refused to interrupt anything. Hoping day after day, I lay in bed waiting.

One day the bleeding ended. Two days later, the pregnancy test was negative. My body, which had been designed to nurture life, had instead cannibalized it.

As bearers of the future, let us end the horrors of the past forty years once and forever.

Union Talk

Kansas City rail crash: playing with lives

The following column is by a brakeman on the C&NW Railroad.

KANSAS CITY—The January 18 collision of two Santa Fe Railway trains gave residents of Kansas City a terrifying glimpse of the dangers threatening the health and safety of anyone working or living around U.S. railroads.

A derailed car was hit by an oncoming train, knocking eleven boxcars and two tank cars full of flammable chemicals off the Kansas City Terminal Railroad tracks in the center of the city.

The tanks caught fire, sending up clouds of black smoke and fumes. Thirty-thousand gallons of diisobutylene burned immediately, damaging an already decrepit bridge carrying traffic downtown. The second tank cracked. Volatile pentane leaked onto the ground and caught fire.

Kansas City firefighters fought the blaze for more than two days before it was put out and the car removed. Six firefighters were treated for smoke inhalation, chest pains, and nausea from the chemical fumes.

As the tank car burned, the entire West Side residential and industrial area was threatened by a pentane explosion, which firefighters feared would happen at any moment. Fortunately, the car did not explode.

The safety of workers and area residents was the last thing on the minds of railroad and public

officials during the fire and the following days.

Chemical fires require specific firefighting procedures; misinformation can greatly increase the danger to firefighters.

Yet railroad officials were quite slow and contradictory in telling the fire department what the cars contained. Any railroad clerk can get this information in minutes from the company computer.

Conflicting announcements were made about the possibility of an explosion. Both company and city officials attempted to minimize the danger. A Missouri-Pacific clerk, who asked not to be identified, said that that company had already considered a nearby signal shack to be gone.

Some West Side residents were told they should leave the area the night of the collision, but no evacuation effort was made.

By mid-morning, January 19, two days before the fire was out, workers in area businesses were allowed to return to work. A large number of West Side residents speak Spanish, but no instructions or information were issued in Spanish. Nor were local churches and community centers able to answer the hundreds of calls they received about the accident. Three major routes to downtown Kansas City were closed due to fire damage and fumes, causing massive traffic tie-ups.

The railroads were concerned only with clearing the track so trains could be run through. Track repair crews were sent into the yard long before it

was safe to be there. Pentane gas hovered near the ground after the fire was out; sparks from workers' equipment and the wheels of trains allowed onto adjacent tracks set off small explosions and fires.

Gas explosions in sewers forced workers to dodge flying manhole covers as they worked on the track.

The general chairman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, the track workers' union, was told by OSHA inspectors called to the site that there was no danger. Despite announcements made by the railroads that no flammables were being taken through the yard, cars marked "combustible" could be seen on passing trains.

Kansas City is one of the largest railroad terminals in the U.S. More than 8,000 workers are employed by twelve carriers.

Thousands of cars, including those carrying flammable, radioactive, and poisonous substances are moved through densely populated areas and under heavily traveled roads every day. Much of the trackage is old and poorly maintained; derailments are routine events in Kansas City yards.

Adequate maintenance, rerouting of dangerous shipments, and reconstruction of ancient facilities mean less profit for the carriers, but are life and death issues for Kansas City residents.

As the recent railroad accident showed, no amount of secrecy, lies, or loyal public officials can cover up the dangers that the companies' profit drive brings in its wake.



Worthy cause—After Reagan announced a freeze on redecorating federal buildings, he put in to have the White House redone. A cooperative Congress allocated \$50,000. The Reagans rejected this and are seeking \$200,000 in private, tax-deductible contributions. The redecorating, they explain, is for the benefit of "future occupants" and history.

Wrong clown—"Waffles the Clown" was sentenced by a Massachusetts judge to give eight free performances for children. Waffles had been busted at the Yankee Atomic plant

when, in costume, he tried to obtain a sample of the plant's discharge water.

Sounds plausible—Pollution restrictions on electric utilities could be reduced since sulphur dioxide levels could safely be doubled or trebled, according to a study by the American Council on Science and Health. A fiercely independent research body, the council is funded by the Chamber of Commerce.

And watch that baba au rhum—"I read that imports from a certain

French steel mill have been barred because its stainless steel contains Cuban nickel. Is it still safe to eat French pastry, or does that contain Cuban sugar?"—Letter to the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Home furnishing dep't—People with bigger bucks are now reported into bigger, more elaborate beds. The Waterworks in Cleveland is doing nicely with a model that features an oak canopy, stained glass, lights, and mirrors. Enthused the store owner, "It's not a bed. It's a lifestyle." \$1,800.

It wouldn't be polite—A recent Senate study found that the top level of ownership of almost all American corporations is in the hands of as few as fifteen financial institutions. The study, the *New York Times* advises, "offers no analysis of the economic or social consequences of concentration."

And two for Sunday—"Ideally, a man should have one suit for every business day and wear it only one day." Frederick Lintott, of H. Huntsman & Sons, the London custom tailor whose suits go for \$1,800.

The American Way of Life

The following column is by Allan Grady, a shipfitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and a disabled Navy veteran.

I spent a morning in line at the Newark Veterans Administration clinic one day recently. I talked to several vets, survivors of Washington's war in Vietnam.

* * *

Jameel is thirty-four and in a wheel chair. He's a retired Black Marine. All four of his appendages were burned when his unit was napalmed by mistake by U.S. Air Force planes in Vietnam in 1968. His left arm has an elbow and his right arm ends just beyond the armpit. Both legs end above the knees.

"It took about four years of burn treatment to really heal it all up. I spent most of those years in the VA hospital in St. Louis. I remember the day they finally let me stay in the sun for a few minutes. The sun felt so good again."

Jameel doesn't talk much of the war except to

remark, "They *knew* what was goin' on. They knew it all along."

Jameel's 100 percent disability entitles him to VA medical care the rest of his life, about \$800 a month pension, and the chance to attend a college or technical school on a VA rehabilitation program to "pursue any field of endeavor the veteran chooses within the confines of the nature of his disability."

* * *

Edward is a white ex-Marine, thirty-two years old. He's still on crutches, trying to get used to his artificial leg. His leg was shot up in Vietnam in an area sprayed with Agent Orange, the defoliant. He's had problems with the leg ever since he got out in 1969. In 1976 the leg was diagnosed as cancerous, and was removed in late 1979.

While Ed's injury is "service-connected," it was ruled so because of the *bullet wounds*, not the Agent Orange. Because neither Dow Chemical (its manufacturer) nor the Veterans Administration recognizes Agent Orange as a source of cancer, claims for disability from exposure are denied.

* * *

I got to talking to Howard, thirty-three and Black. He got out of the army in 1970. The nerve damage the shrapnel caused his spinal column rated him at 30 percent disabled.

We started talking about the Vietnam war. An older vet behind us butted in, "But you need an army, you need a military—what if we were attacked?"

Howard shot back, "Where did the Vietnamese attack? Miami? Los Angeles? Hell, they didn't even have an air force, did they?"

We talked awhile. "Looks like they'll be wanting us again real soon. But you know, they ain't getting me, not *this* time," Howard said.

The older vet interjected, "You mean you wouldn't fight?"

"What do you mean, man, I fight every day *right here*, just to pay the rent and buy the groceries. I don't need to get on any boat or plane to go any place *else* to fight."

* * *

This is just the story of three vets. If Washington creates a new Vietnam in Central America, there will be many more stories to tell.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

BAY AREA

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri.-Sat., March 13-14. Fri., 8 p.m.: Evening of Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean. Speakers from El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, and Nicaragua. Mission Neighborhood Center, 362 Capp St., San Francisco. Donation: \$2.

Sat.: Classes at University of California-Berkeley, Student Union Building. 11 a.m.: Cuba and Struggle for Socialism, talk and slide show by Robert Matson and Georges Sayad. Struggle for Black Liberation Today by Tony Thomas. Why American Working People Need a Labor Party, a panel discussion by union activists. 2 p.m.: Nicaragua Literacy Drive: the Second War of Liberation, participant's report by Antígona Martínez. Women's Liberation and Socialism by Carole Seligman. Poland: Struggle for Workers Democracy by George Johnson.

Sat., 8 p.m.: Rally in Support of the Socialist Lawsuit. Speakers: Barry Sheppard, national co-chair, Socialist Workers Party; Jude Coren, one of fifteen unionists fired at Lockheed-Georgia. Pauley Ballroom, Student Union Building, UC Berkeley. Ausp: SWP, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call Oakland: (415) 763-3792; San Francisco: (415) 824-1992; or San Jose: (408) 998-4007.

LOS ANGELES

FILM SHOWING: 'GRENADA, BIG REVOLUTION IN A SMALL COUNTRY.' Fri., March 20, 7:30 p.m. Golden State Mutual Auditorium, 1995 W. Adams (at Western). Donation: \$2. Ausp: U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. For more information call (213) 396-6995.

SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL. A rally for Socialist Workers Party lawsuit. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1980 SWP presidential candidate; John Murphy, American Civil Liberties Union (for identification only); Larry Schwartz, American Federation of Teachers (for identification only); greetings from Larry Remer, editor of San Diego *Newsline* paper. Fri., March 13, 7:30 p.m. San Diego City College. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP National Campaign Committee. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND: DEVELOPMENT OF U.S. WORKING CLASS. Speaker: Pedro Vasquez, Socialist Workers Party. Two classes, Sat., March 14, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. 8 p.m.: Cocktail Party for Civil Liberties. 4161 Olympic St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

INDIANA

GARY

SHOWDOWN AT THREE MILE ISLAND: LABOR'S STAKE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. A panel discussion. Fri., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

A RALLY IN SUPPORT OF SOCIALIST SUIT. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, 1980 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Alabama; Anne Braden, Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; others. Sun., March 8, 6:30 p.m. reception; 7:30 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. party. 131 W. Main St. (2nd and Main). Donation \$3. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: A PANEL. Speakers: Mina Farzin, Iranian feminist; Regula Burk, European feminist; other speakers on Women in Revolutionary Caribbean Countries. Sun., March 8, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

SOLIDARITY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN POLAND. Speakers: Marta Petrusiewicz, visiting lecturer in Harvard University Department of Social Studies, student in Poland during 1960s; George Saunders, translator of Roy Medvedev's bestselling book *Disaster in the Urals*; editor of *Samizdat: Voices of Soviet Opposition*. Sun., March 15, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

TWIN CITIES

EL SALVADOR: ANOTHER VIETNAM? Showing of PBS documentary, followed by discussion. Sun., March 15, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

IN CELEBRATION OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. A panel on contributions of women in freedom struggles around the world. Speakers from El Salvador, Grenada, Haiti, Ireland, Nicaragua, and the U.S. Sat., March 14, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

CAPITAL DISTRICT

THE NEED FOR A LABOR PARTY. A panel discussion on the movement for independent labor party in the U.S., the British Labor Party's turn to the left, and the New Democratic Party in Canada. Fri., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St., Schenectady. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

FIRSTHAND REPORT FROM POLAND. Speaker: Gary Fields, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

PORTLAND

ATTACKS ON ABORTION RIGHTS. Speaker: Bryna Waldman, organizer, Portland chapter, National Abortion Rights Action League. Sun., March 15, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA

MURDER IN ATLANTA: A PANEL DISCUSSION. Speakers: Rev. Marshall Lorenzo Sheppard, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, board

member of NAACP, member Operation PUSH; Sonia Sanchez, noted poet; José Acevedo, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., March 8, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

'DOUBLE DAY,' a film on working women in Latin America. Sun., March 15, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

'EL SALVADOR: REVOLUTION OR DEATH.' Three film showings. Mon., March 9, noon and 7:30 p.m. University of Utah, Little Theater. Donation: \$50. Ausp: Ethnic Studies Program.

Thurs., March 12, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Multipurpose Center, Room 15. Donation: \$50. Ausp: Salt Lake City El Salvador Solidarity Committee. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

TIDEWATER

BLACKS, REAGANISM, AND POLITICS IN 1980s. Speakers: Rev. Ben Chavis, former Wilmington Ten defendant, National Black Independent Political Party spokesperson; Barbara Arwine, NBIPP organization committee member. Sat., March 7, 6:30 p.m. dinner, rally. Norfolk State University. Donation: \$10 adult, \$6 eighteen and under. Ausp: NBIPP. For more information call (804) 244-2081 or 627-4335.

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL. Speakers: Héctor Marroquin, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., March 15, 5 p.m. 111 28th St. (between Washington and West Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: 1981 Virginia SWP Campaign. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WEST VIRGINIA

MORGANTOWN

REAGAN'S BUDGET CUTS: GUNS, NO BUTTER. Panel of speakers. Fri., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 957 S. University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Letters

Schweiker and women

The liberal component of the capitalist parties is shrinking like the paycheck of the average worker. There just isn't much progressive meat on the Democratic or Republican party bones.

A case in point is Richard Schweiker, the new secretary of Health and Human Services.

A former liberal, "pro-labor" senator from Pennsylvania, Schweiker was recently elected with the support of the trade union hierarchy.

Today he is using his new position to spearhead the attack on women's rights.

He recently spoke to several thousand antiabortionists and promised them the administration's support for the "Human Life Amendment," which would ban abortions and prohibit the use of some contraceptives.

Shortly thereafter he underlined his "barefoot and pregnant" approach to women. He said he opposed the family planning programs that promote sex education.

His new department has jurisdiction over many of these programs.

He also said that doctors should be prohibited from prescribing contraceptives to unmarried teenagers covered under Medicaid.

While Schweiker bares his teeth at women, other

Democratic and Republican politicians are attempting to convince working people that we're all part of this turn to the right.

But even some right-wingers know better. Said one Reagan activist, "There isn't going to be an abortion amendment. You'd see lawlessness in this country to make Prohibition look like a picnic."

In short, they know that, far from turning back the clock to the nineteenth century, they can't even turn back the clock ten years without a fight.

But they are preparing that fight, as Schweiker's statements clearly show.

It would be nice if the labor officials who supported Schweiker stopped sniffing for more "pro-labor" politicians in the capitalist parties and paid attention to those "lawless" forces—the millions of women, Blacks, Hispanics, unionists—who have a stake in this fight and the power to win it.

W.S.

Jersey City, New Jersey

Luck to Salvadorans

It gives me great pleasure to say how much I enjoy reading the *Militant*. It's very nice to have a paper to bring out the oppressed leaders of the world so that people can see that they are our brothers and sisters.



Mike Peters, Dayton Daily News

I sympathize with the people of El Salvador, and I wish them good luck in their struggle.

D.V.
Brooklyn, New York

Jane Lee speech

Thanks for printing the excerpts from Jane Lee's speech at the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment meeting.

I heard her speak at a Karen Silkwood memorial meeting here in Cleveland, and I have often wished I could have in print some of the information she gave us.

L.R.
Cleveland, Ohio

More 'Cosmos'

I have just finished reading the article, "In Defense of Cosmos." Once again the *Militant* has done, as so many times before, a brilliant article in defense of materialism.

It is quality coverage and interpretations such as this that makes the *Militant* an excellent newspaper.

Not only is the *Militant* providing working people with the news stories and interpretation of them that are so important in viewing ourselves as an international

class, but it provides intelligent analysis of scientific events and ideas that are so important in dispelling the muddle-headed superstition and ignorance that capitalist church and state have tried to distort us with.

It is such honest and responsible reporting that makes the *Militant*, as Malcolm X put it, the best paper on the left.

Looking forward to more of the same, keep up the good work.

John Wood
Detroit, Michigan

Pentagon goofs again

The brass in the Pentagon once again failed to discharge its sworn duty to defend our cities.

Recently Louisville, Kentucky, came under heavy assault. Streets were reduced to rubble, and a twenty-block area had to be evacuated. The assailant, according to the press, was a Ralston Purina plant.

Had the brass been equal to its responsibility to provide defense, it would have immediately gone into action. Given its "rapid deployment" capabilities, the proper equipment could have been moved into place in hours—even possibly minutes.

Once the missiles, tanks, cannons, and planes were ready, an ultimatum to Ralston Purina could have been issued: "If you blow up one more block of Louisville, you've had it."

J.S.
Los Angeles, California

Rare pleasure

I am an inmate in the state of Georgia. The rare pleasure was granted to me to read the *Militant*!

Would you be kind enough to add me to your list of subscribers?

A prisoner

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Letter from Iranian worker

The following is part of a letter received by Stu Singer of the 'Militant' staff from a friend in Iran. The Iranian had been a student and then a refinery worker in Houston, Texas, before returning to Iran after the overthrow of the shah.

I am working in a factory. The hours are long.

I am involved most of the time in building the Army of 20 million [to combat Iraqi aggression]. It is such an inspiring feeling when I see the dedicated workers in the factory ready to sacrifice their lives for the revolution.

It proves that when ideas are accepted by the masses they will have such a tremendous

force that no one, including U.S. imperialism, can stop it.

When we wanted to start building the units of the Army of 20 million in our factory, at first the management was against it and even tried to clash with us. But the support was so tremendous that no one could stop us.

For three weeks everyone took two hours of the work day for practice with arms. The factory has spent thousands to build the necessary things for practice.

All I can say is that what is happening in Iran is one of the deepest revolutions of this century. I am glad to be part of it.

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Solidarity actions spread for Atlanta Blacks